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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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## East Europe

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## BCP CC Holds Plenum Session

### Congress Proposed

*AU2912171489 Sofia BTA in English*
*1656 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["BCP Congress To Start on January 30?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Convening of an extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on January 30, 1990, is proposed in the report of Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, delivered before the plenum of the CC of the BCP today. It is pointed out that this is due to the political situation in this country.

The report also proposes to complete all election-campaign meetings at the local, village and towns' organizations by January 15, and the regional conferences by January 20. According to the preliminary plans a total of 2,820 delegates for the congress will be elected, one per every 350 Communists.

### Coalition Considered

*AU2912203389 Sofia BTA in English*
*1957 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] held a plenum at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the party headquarters here today.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, delivered a report on the preparations for the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, delivered a report on the abuses committed with respect to the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in the country.

Twenty members of the CC of the BCP took the floor in the debate.

The BCP Central Committee points out that there are symptoms of a certain relaxation of social tension. The activation of the dialogue and the contacts among the different public and political forces have contributed to this. In connection with the calls for a warning political strike, it was emphasized that the citizens of Bulgaria and the work forces have expressed their will that this is not a way to solve the key problems of Bulgarian society as they declared themselves in favour of calm and constructive labour, of constructive dialogue and national concord.

The Central Committee welcomes the agreement reached on holding round-table meetings with representatives of the public organisations and movements and of the Union of Democratic Forces. In this connection, the Central Committee gave its consent that in the course of the talks, the BCP representatives declare a readiness in principle for the formation of a broad-based coalition government. Certainly, such a decision presupposes that all participants in the round-table meetings should reach mutually acceptable solutions as a basis for nationwide concord on the main areas of the democratisation and renewal of Bulgarian society.

### Lukanov Delivers Report

*AU2912201889 Sofia BTA in English*
*1928 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["For Radical Renewal in BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The building of a civil society, of a democratic and humane socialist state committed to the rule of law is the only possible road which Bulgaria can take, said Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], in a report delivered to a plenum of the CC of the BCP held here today.

He emphasized that the BCP will be able to retain its position as a leading political force only if it immediately goes ahead with radical renewal.

The party's final de-Stalinization was singled out as the primary condition for renewal.

"Having declared that we renounce our monopoly position in society, we should prove that we are earnestly prepared to interact with all public forces, with all Bulgarians who agree with the BCP's principal goal: the building of a humane and democratic state committed to the rule of law along the road to socialism," Mr Lukanov said.

The report indicates that the BCP should prove in practice that it is a party of social progress. "We have all the right prerequisites to be a party of progress if we proceed from the huge potential of creative Marxism-Leninism, of the Marxist method of social analysis, of the experience of restructuring in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, an experience which is growing by the day."

Stressing that the BCP should open to the world, the speaker described as "illusory" the claims of the ruling communist parties to be the sole epitomes of modern socialism. Lenin's thesis about the plurality of forms of socialism and about the specifics and the differences in the transition to socialism is being fully confirmed. The socialist and the social democratic parties have made an undeniable theoretical and practical contribution to the assertion of original forms of public and economic organization. The progressive forces in the developing countries and the Nonaligned Movement have also contributed to the shaping of the ideas and values of the present-day world.

Mr Lukanov pointed out that the BCP should establish itself as a political force inextricably linked with the

Bulgarian people and expressing its interests through its policy. "Along with that, we will be true to our internationalist principles, to our close alliance with the CPSU and the other communist and workers parties in the socialist community."

"The preparations for the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the BCP should dynamize the process of renewal to the point of irreversibility," the report says.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP suggests that the extraordinary congress adopt a political declaration rather than a policy document.

A more important business at the congress will be the adoption of new party rules and an overhaul of the membership through a fundamentally revised pre-congress election campaign.

According to the Politburo, the new rules should provide guarantees for a reorganisation of the entire inner party life on a democratic basis. The party bodies and organizations at different levels now have feudal and hierarchical relations, and directives are the commonest method. The primary organisations should be guaranteed genuine autonomy and the right to initiative. To this end, it is suggested that the BCP renounce the principle of democratic centralism.

A party, especially if it is a ruling party, should seek unity not through formal discipline but through a civilised discussion, through a free clash of alternatives, platforms and ideas, the report says.

Guarantees are needed against the threat of the revival of Stalinism. Such guarantees are the limited terms of office for top officials, their electivity and accountability, glasnost within the party and its exposure to the public's critical eye.

The party apparatus should be reduced to the indispensable minimum.

As a matter of principle, the new rules should incorporate the separation of the functions of the BCP and the state. The current merger of these functions is assessed in the report as a characteristic feature of the command-and-administer system.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP declares itself against the currently applied so-called nomenklatura principle in the selection of party cadres, which is assessed as one of the main reasons for the hypertrophied role of the party apparatus in public life as a whole.

## Special Congress Approved

*AU2912212289 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["BCP To Hold Extraordinary Congress at End of January"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The dynamic progress of the political situation in Bulgaria and the need to speed up the process of renewal in the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] necessitate the convocation of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP on January 30, 1990.

That was decided by the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP at its plenum here today. The plenum suggests that the congress agenda include a report by Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, on the state of society and the party's tasks, a political declaration, an approval of new BCP rules and an election of the party's central governing bodies.

Congress delegates will be elected at a rate of one per 350 BCP members, and all party organisations will have the right to nominate delegates. The congress delegates will be elected by secret ballot, and several candidates will compete for one delegate mandate which will be won by a majority vote.

The election campaign will involve a wide-ranging democratic discussion on the problems of the party and the country.

The pre-congress campaign will make a resolute step towards a party renewal by relieving the discredited officials of their responsibilities.

The Central Committee suggests that arrangements be made for a wide-ranging and democratic preliminary discussion of nominations for all party bodies with the BCP members and the non-party people and that a secret-ballot election be introduced for secretaries and bureau members, as well as a choice between candidates competing for one post. By the discretion of the primary BCP organisations, their secretaries should be elected directly by the meeting, and it is suggested that the party committees at a higher level abandon the existing practise of approving the newly elected secretaries and bureaus.

It is recommended that the term of office of the delegates elected at one election conference expire at the next conference.

One question to be considered in the course of the campaign will be the differentiation of the functions of the party bodies and the state and economic bodies. Particular attention should be paid, according to the CC of the BCP, to the consolidation of the prestige and the assertion of the independence of the work forces' and territorial units' self-government bodies.

The plenum assigns the Politburo of the CC of the BCP the task to approve a Central Commission for the preparations of the 14th Extraordinary Congress, comprising Central Committee members and other Communists enjoying great prestige, experience and competence.

## Changed Ethnic Policy

*AU2912221489 Sofia BTA in English 2141 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["Reversal of BCP Ethnic Policy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—"What matters most now is reconciliation rather than retaliation," said Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], in a report in which he set forth the Politburo stand on rectifying the abuses committed with respect to the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in Bulgaria. Mr Lilov was addressing the Plenum of the CC of the BCP.

"We are to consider one of the acutest, most sensitive and most difficult political problems of the country's restructuring," he said, stressing the urgency of finding a solution to the problem. Mr Aleksandur Lilov motivated this urgency by the crisis coming to a head in this country and by the fact that the BCP, being a ruling party, cannot allow to be confronted with this problem by the surge of today's and especially of tomorrow's public upheaval.

He said that the Central Committee should review the decision on the change of names of the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population and, in a wider aspect, on the "formation of an ethnically monolithic Bulgarian nation" and should review the methods used to implement this decision and its effects. Furthermore, the plenum should work out an overall policy towards that population with a view to the achievement of genuine national unity and national consolidation in building a modern, democratic and civilised socialist Bulgaria. Besides, stable and durable guarantees should be provided for the country's territorial and state integrity and for its national interests and security.

Along with that, prerequisites should be created for a swift break out of the current international isolation on the matter and for an impetus to a normalization of Bulgaro-Turkish relations on a principled basis of mutual benefit.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov formulated the task as "rectification of the gross errors and abuses committed by Todor Zhivkov's regime in solving the problems concerning the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population."

The BCP should work very actively and responsibly to overcome the division and the confrontation in the people. It should do everything to check both "Islamic fundamentalism" and "Bulgarian chauvinism" which are burgeoning and reach threatening proportions under the circumstances.

The speaker went on to say that in the opinion of the Politburo, this dire political legacy of Todor Zhivkov's regime should be assessed as essentially wrong in an ideological and theoretical aspect. Todor Zhivkov's formulation on the "formation of an ethnically monolithic Bulgarian nation" is a departure from the Marxist concept of a nation.

The very labelling of the name-changing as a "regeneration process" was fictitious as a description of the actual reality, Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

In a political aspect, this is a grave political error of serious immediate and long-term internal and international consequences for Bulgaria, he pointed out stressing that the main culprits for this are Todor Zhivkov and his closest entourage.

The speaker said that in consequence of that error, hostile relations and feelings arose between two parts of the Bulgarian people, "Islamic fundamentalism" was fomented and "Bulgarian chauvinism" resurged, and the exodus of 310,000 people and the filing of emigration applications by another 400,000 created exceedingly great difficultues, confidence in the BCP was eroded and Bulgaria found itself in international isolation on the matter.

Politically, the so-called regeneration process can be described in the following terms: absolutely arbitrary decision-making, direction of the process by a small group of Zhivkov's confidential men, coercion and lawlessness committed by the security forces, administrative pressure exerted on the Muslim population for the change of names, inadmissible and degrading treatement of the repatriates.

The speaker pointed out that the Bulgarian People's Army was not involved in a single case of this campaign.

The report points out that the records of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the secretariat of the CC of the BCP, the National Assembly, the State Council and the government do not contain a single formal document, decision, report or any other document suggesting who made this decision, for what purpose, on what motivation and with what intended modalities.

This is obviously a high point in the deviation and degradation of the normal functioning and the leading role of the BCP, of its Central Committee and Politburo by Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime, Mr Aleksandur Lilov pointed out.

The speaker said that the former Minister of Internal Affairs Georgi Tanev had a definite personal responsibility and that those members of the former leadership and the Central Committee staff who were directly concerned with the immediate direction of that campaign had their share and responsibility, too.

He noted that the new BCP leadership cannot assert and implement the new policy line which it declared without distancing themselves from that dire political legacy and without coming up with a clear political assessment of it.

The BCP favours national concord, reconciliation and getting over the insults and the hostility, Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

## Text on Muslim Rights

*AU2912195889 Sofia BTA in English*
*1922 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["On Turkish-Speaking and Muslim Population's Constitutional Rights"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Following is the text of a resolution adopted by the Plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] today:

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party:

1. Rejects the campaign seeking the forcible formation of an "ethnically monolithic Bulgarian nation" pursued by Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime and the related abuses of Bulgarian citizens' constitutional rights as fundamentally wrong and condemns it as a grave political error.

2. Endorses the party's new policy on these matters, motivated in the report of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP to the Central Committee Plenum.

3. Assigns the BCP parliamentary faction to submit this question for consideration at the next National Assembly session.

4. Believes that it will be appropriate to hold wide-ranging consultations on these matters with all existing and newly formed public organisations, movements and structures.

The Bulgarian Communist Party declares itself in favour of the achievement of national concord in solving the questions arising from the violations of the constitutional rights of the Turkish-speaking and the Muslim population in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

5. Believes that in solving these questions, the country's territorial and state integrity and Bulgaria's national interests and security should be safeguarded.

6. Deems its necessary that the resolution and the proceedings of the plenum be made public and discussed on December 30, 1989, at all primary BCP organisations and that an extensive effort be organised to explain the party's new policy on these matters to the entire population.

## Lukanov, Lilov on Democratization of Party

*AU2912230689 Sofia BTA in English*
*2154 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["Top BCP Officials Announce End of Totalitarianism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—"Under a democracy, there is always a chance to lose an election. This is part of the rules of the game, and it should be honoured," Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], told a news conference this evening when he was asked whether the Communist Party could envisage a possibility of going in opposition. He stressed that the BCP is preparing for a serious election campaign and, in his view, stands a good chance of success the way it is renewed. Certainly, the composition of the National Assembly will probably get very much changed, he said.

Mr Andrey Lukanov said that at its plenum today, the CC of the BCP reached agreement in principle on the formation of a broad-based coalition government as a result of the forthcoming round-table talks with representatives of the opposition democratic groups.

The precedent-setting resolutions of today's plenum were the subject of the two-hour press conference which, apart from Mr Lukanov, was attended by Mr Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, who supplied details about the revised policy towards the Muslim population. He described the name-changing campaign launched in 1984 as a grave political error, with grave internal and international consequences for this country.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov said that the records of the Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat did not contain a single document regulating that tragic decision. This goes to show a gross departures from the standards of party life: The competent authorities were removed from the making of such fateful decisions and they were made by an inner circle. He singled out Todor Zhivkov, the former minister of internal affairs Dimitur Stoyanov and other members of the ousted dictator's entourage as the main culprits for this flagrant violation of human rights.

Elaborating on the anti-humanism of the previous policy towards the Muslim population, Mr Aleksandur Lilov said further on that the plenum has called serious attention to the questions concerning Bulgaria's integrity and sovereignty. He emphasized that a policy intended to set up a "fifth column" in the country or another Cyprus will be resolutely rebuffed. "This country has the political means and the allies to defend itself. Along with that, we favour a good-neighbour policy towards Turkey," he said.

Discussing the time left to the BCP Congress set for January 30, both BCP officials stressed that this will be a period of renewal and resolute democratization of the party which gives up "democratic centralism," the organisational principle ruling out factionalism and an inner-party opposition. They emphasized that the totalitarian regime cannot be identified with the Communist Party. "Todor Zhivkov was afraid of his party, he felt that sooner or later the traditions deeply rooted in it would put an end to his dictatorship," Mr Aleksandur Lilov said.

## Government Resolution on Restoring Muslim Names

*AU2912194689 Sofia BTA in English*
*1906 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["Free Choice of Names for Bulgarian Citizens"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—At a joint session today, the State Council and the Council of Ministers considered the state of affairs which has arisen in the country since the end of 1984 as a result of the forced renaming of Bulgarian citizens bearing Muslim names and of the restrictions on the practice of their language, religious and everyday rites.

These actions, carried out on the basis of arbitrary and autocratic decisions taken under the authoritarian regime, have led to a serious erosion of the nation's unity. They flagrantly violate the citizens' equality before the law enshrined in the Constitution of Bulgaria and run counter to the democratic traditions of the Bulgarian people and to the international human rights commitments assumed by Bulgaria.

With a view to rectifying these grave abuses and to eliminating their effects, the State Council and the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution condemning all actions which abridge the right to a free choice of name, to freedom of religion, as well as the right of everyone, while formally recognizing and using the Bulgarian language as an official language, to speak other languages in their day-to-day communication and to observe their customs.

In compliance with Article 35 of the Constitution and with Bulgaria's international commitments, the competent state authorities have been obliged to take measures to rectify the abuses and to guarantee the genuine exercise of the rights of all Bulgarian citizens without distinction of nationality, origin, creed, sex, race, education, social and material status, as envisaged in the Constitution and the law of the land.

The state guarantees that these rights are exercised on a completely voluntary basis by all its citizens and opposes any unlawful restriction and violation of these rights.

The achievement of national concord and reconciliation is a point of duty for each Bulgarian citizen. They should be promoted and consolidated in strict observance of the democratically established law and order in the slite and in absolute respect for and safeguard of the citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms by the state bodies and authorities and by each citizen, the resolution says.

It is suggested that the National Assembly adopt a resolution on these matters on the basis of national concord, the rallying of the Bulgarian people and the strengthening of national unity.

In order to hold a dialogue and wide-ranging consultations involving representatives of all public and political forces in the country concerned and the achievement of national concord, it would be expedient to submit these exceedingly important questions for a preliminary discussion in the National Assembly standing committees.

It is suggested that the National Assembly grant an amnesty to all persons convicted on charges of political crimes committed in connection with the change of names and unrelated to terrorist acts.

In the resolution, signed by Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Georgi Atanasov, the State Council and the Council of Ministers call on all Bulgarian citizens to show the people's inherent sense of responsibility and civic awareness, of maturity and sound reason. Let everyone who holds dear the welfare and the advancement of the homeland make his own contribution to national concord and reconciliation. Only thus can stable and durable conditions and guarantees be secured against any encroachments on the country's security, territorial and state integrity and only thus can the supreme national interests of our free, independent and sovereign people can be defended.

Only the people's unity based on the equality of each and every one before the law will give our homeland a worthy place in the community of European and world nations, the resolution says.

## Todorov Announces Freedom of Religion, Language

*AU2912161489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] The first news item concerns a rally held in front of the National Assembly in Sofia. National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov met with the citizens and announced that in the future everyone in the People's Republic of Bulgaria will be free to voluntarily choose his name, language, and religion.

Comrade Stanko Todorov's statement was greeted with great satisfaction, and the citizens who had intended to organize a prolonged demonstration dispersed to their homes.

## National Radical Party Holds Sofia Rally

*AU2912194289 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["National-Radicals Emerge"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Dozens of people gathered today in front of the National Bank in answer to an appeal delivered on Radio Sofia by a representative of a "Union of National Forces." With chants "Bulgaria, Unity" and with national flags in their hands they demonstrated their attitude toward the "policy of national nihilism" which according to them the government is following. The essence of the demands of the organizers who presented themselves as members of the National-Radical Party, which has worked underground till the present, is "not to permit any concession to the claims of the ethnic Turks." The chairman of the party Dr Ivan Georgiev stated categorically that in Bulgaria the existence of other nationalities is out of the question.

Slogans like "In Bulgaria Only Bulgarians," "No to Separatism," "Down With the Traitors of Bulgarianness" speak explicitly. A number of people passing through the square distanced themselves from it.

Fortunately there was no conflict with the number of people standing before the building of the National Assembly since yesterday demanding the returning of their Muslim names. But it should be noted that even before the "encounter" between the two rallies the Bulgarian Muslims have resolutely decided not to to give in to eventual provocative actions or slogans and to preserve the peaceful character of their vigil.

## Disagreement With BCP Ethnic Policy Noted

*AU3112193089 Sofia BTA in English*
*1714 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 31 (BTA)—Representatives of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, independent civic associations and non-party people formed a Committee for the Defense of National Interests in the town of Kurdzhali, southern Bulgaria.

The committee expresses disagreement with the new ethnic policy of the BCP and the state leadership and raises as its principal demand the holding of a referendum on the ethnic issue, the results of which it wants codified by the National Assembly.

## Kurdzhali Committee Denies Nationalistic Bias

*AU3112193189 Sofia BTA in English*
*1802 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Kurdzhali, December 31 (BTA)—The Initiative Council of the Committee for Defense of National Interests declared in full responsibility that the committee does not seek to incite and foment nationalist passions and to antagonize the population in the eastern Rhodopi but rather only to assist for the achievement of national reconciliation through a dialogue on equal terms and consensus of the parties concerned.

## 'Politicized' Atmosphere in Kurdzhali Noted

*AU0101203490 Sofia BTA in English*
*1901 GMT 1 Jan 90*

["Strongly Politicized but Calm Atmosphere in Kurdzhali" —BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 1 (BTA)—The atmosphere in the town of Kurdzhali is strongly politicized but the situation in calm, said the leader of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Municipal Committee in the town on national television. His telephone interview was occasioned by the conflicting reports arriving from that Muslim-populated part of Bulgaria, the TV announcer said.

Last night rallies were held in Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria) in connection with the resolutions of the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. The local leader said that the participants had demanded that the problems be addressed with the participation of the entire public and that the laws be observed by everybody without preference to anyone. No breaches of the peace were committed and the situation remained calm, the leader said. "We cannot do without each other," he said, referring to all local people.

Representatives of the public and the independent organizations, of the Muslims and the Committee for Defense of National Interests held talks in the town today. There will be further talks tomorrow, and Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, has been invited to attend.

The Initiative Committee of the Committee for Defense of National Interests in the town specified yesterday that it does not seek to antagonize the population in the eastern Rhodopi area but rather to contribute to national reconciliation.

Last night the Committee for National Reconciliation called for the establishment of its local branches to work for overcoming the problems which have arisen due to the former regime's ethnic policy which was rejected by the decision of the latest plenum of the CC of the BCP.

In its earlier documents the Committee for National Reconciliation declared itself in favour of each Bulgarian citizen's right, without distinction of ethnicity and religion, to a free choice of name and to a guaranteed right to language and to unobstructed practice of religious rites.

## BCP Members Form Faction, Demand Reform

*AU2912180089 Sofia BTA in English*
*1733 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—A group of BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members announced in a declaration today that they have formed a faction within the party. They undertake to bring together BCP members opposing the party's current complexion which, as they see it, remains basically Stalinist. The faction rejects the principle of democratic centralism which denies party members the right to hold alternative views.

According to the Communists who signed the faction's constituent declaration, what matters now is not a consolidation of the party but distancing from the forces within it which are responsible for the current crisis in the country. Those forces stay in power and demonstratively refuse to give up their posts. The road to national concord passes through a radical democratic reform within the party, something which the top party apparatus is trying to delay and avoid. The ultimate goal of the faction is to exert influence inside the party so that it could turn into a democratic political force which will have finally broken with Stalinism and with the Zhivkovites who, as the faction members believe, comprise the overwhelming majority of the incumbent high-ranking party officials. The signers of the declaration emphasize that the formation of such a faction meets an inevitable and urgent need of all BCP members who will no longer compromise with sound logic, with their own conscience and with the national interests solely because the anti-democratic principles imposed in the party demand unquestioning obedience to the self-reproducing party apparatus. The declaration bears the signatures of Mr Anzhel Vagenshteyn (film director), Mr Aleksandur Nikolov (philosopher), Ms Binka Zhelyazkova (film

director), Mr Georgi Dyulgerov (film director), Mr Ivaylo Dichev (writer), Prof Ivaylo Znepolski, Mr Ivo Indzhev (journalist), Prof Ivan Nikolov, Ms Koprinka Chervenkova (journalist), Ms Mariya Boykikeva (journalist), Associate Prof Nikolay Vasilev, Associate Prof Petko Simeonov (sociologist), and Prof Trayko Petkov.

## Varna City Plenum Expels Former Secretary

*AU2912213189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] A plenum of the Varna Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] ended in Varna today. The plenum examined the political situation in the municipality and the renewal of the cadres.

An examination was made of the party position of Todor Stoychev, former first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee and a former candidate member of the BCP Central Committee. He was expelled from the party's ranks because of his failure to observe the requirements of Article 2 of the Statute, for gross violations of party principles and norms, political ethics, the Leninist principles for work with the cadres, for utilizing his official position for personal enrichment, and for failing to observe socialist legality.

## Independent Association Rallies in Pleven

*AU3112193289 Sofia BTA in English 1803 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["For National Concord"—BTA headline]

[Text] Pleven, December 31 (BTA)—The Independent Democratic Associations in the town organized a rally here today. Representatives and supporters of the National Reconciliation Association, which was formed here this morning, sent an open letter to the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and to all public organizations and independent associations around the country, saying that they approve the new ethnic policy and demand guarantees that the process of national concord and unity will be irreversible.

## Mladenov's Sends New Year Message

*AU3112184989 Sofia BTA in English 1709 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["New Year Message to the Nation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 31 (BTA)—"We have started a revolution which we must carry on to its successful completion. We have no alternative to the building of a democratic civil society and of a modern state committed to the rule of law, to building genuine humane socialism," said Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, in his New Year message to the nation broadcast on Bulgarian Television.

The message says that the people has welcomed the changes as a way to save the country. They have enabled "new public forces to rush into Bulgaria's political life, and together with them we will be seeking an answer to the fateful problems that have arisen." Nationwide concord and constructive labour are needed for the sake of national advancement. The process of change, which is only beginning now, should take as a reference point the most progressive achievements and tendencies in universal human development, the message says.

"1990 will be a year of democratic elections. Let the people vote freely their preferences. Let no one try to dictate other people's thoughts and actions, let everybody serve their country united under the tricolour flag of the pure and sacred republic. Let us build a community of free people. The normal differences of views, opinions and religions should not set us apart but should rather encourage our interest in each other. The variety of opinions and interests is a motor force of progress," the message points out.

The head of state said that "there is a realistic opportunity to savour in a near future the fruits of a new, free culture, of a free, morally and spiritually elevated life".

"We expect that Bulgaria's international positions, too, will receive a new healing impetus during the new year as a result of the renewal processes in the country," the message says. "The foreign policy will keep asserting the national interests, relying on the people's support. The efforts will be channeled into a further favourable promotion of East-West relations. Primary importance will be attached to the contacts and cooperation with the USSR, the other socialist countries and the Balkan neighbours. Bulgaria's place in Europe and the world, its overall participation in the community of civilized nations, will be rationalized in a new, most constructive manner."

## Independent Association Holds New Year Event

*AU3112193489 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 31 (BTA)—Today the Independent Association of Bulgarian Men of Letters organized a "party to see out the old year which, fortunately, proved a new one for the Bulgarian people with its two last months." Hundreds of Sofianites of different ages and entire families accepted this invitation and came in the freezing cold to Sofia's St Aleksandur Nevsky Square, which has been the scene of thousands-strong rallies in support of democracy. Prominent intellectuals, some of them in disgrace or persecuted by the old regime, performed at the open-air celebration.

## 'Union of the Democratic Forces' Founded in Ruse

*AU3112180689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] A Union of the Democratic Forces was founded in Ruse. The new independent association unites the creative and public forces of the six independent public groups that have been established so far in the city—

Ecoglasnost, the Civic Initiatives Association, the Civic Committee for Glasnost and Democracy, the Civic Committee for Defending Religious Freedoms, Freedom of Conscience and Intellectual Assets, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and others.

The Ruse Union of the Democratic Forces will coordinate the efforts of the independent associations in the struggle for democracy and legal order, on the basis of a uniform and democratic platform. It will implement its activity mainly and exclusively by legal and peaceful means.

## Politburo Meets With Agrarian Leaders

*AU3012154789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Consultations were held today between members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union to examine the situation in the country and in the two parties.

Particular attention was paid to the forthcoming roundtable meeting with representatives of public organizations and movements. The hope was voiced that these meetings will lead to a broad national consensus on the main questions that disturb the Bulgarian people, and will make it possible to deepen and accelerate the process of restructuring our society. Certain issues were also discussed in connection with the upcoming National Assembly session.

## Glasnost Club Views Podkrepa Declaration

*AU3012155589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Dec 89 p 2*

[Plamen Enchev report: "Dialogue and...Confrontation?"]

[Text] The Glasnost and Democracy Club approves the profound change in Bulgaria since 10 November. This was stated on 26 December at a news conference given for Bulgarian and foreign journalists by the club's chief secretary, Professor Chavdar Kyuranov.

At the same time, the club's leadership voices its criticism and disagreement, because little has been done yet to dismantle a system characterized as "a monopoly over the country's economy, ideology, and politics."

In answer to a question from RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the view of the Glasnost and Democracy Club of the declaration by the "Podkrepa" General Federation of Labor, the club's chairman, Petko Simeonov, declared its official stance:

"The degree of politicalization among people is strong today, and radical moods are becoming radical convictions. In this sense, the 'Podkrepa' declaration should not surprise a single one of those of our politicians who have their feet firmly placed on the ground. It is a natural reflection of the attitudes and moods existing among our population.

"However, the club's leadership considers that strikes, especially a political strike, are extreme measures. We believe that the country's economy and public order must be preserved to the maximum extent on the path toward democracy. We do not delude ourselves into thinking that anyone will voluntarily renounce power and privileges. He must be compelled to do so. One must expect not only other similar declarations, but also actions. On the other hand, we want this to be carried out peacefully and by legal means."

Chavdar Kyuranov explained that varying views are held within the circles of the club and the union, but he is of the opinion that one should resort to a strike only in the last event, for example, when the "roundtable" fails to produce results. "However, we should not be too hasty; one should show more patience at the time of these first steps of our democracy," he said.

## Albanian Trade Minister Signs Agreement

*AU2212201889 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 22 Dec 89*

[Text] Sofia, December 22 (BTA)—The possibilities for further expansion of bilateral economic cooperation was discussed at today's meeting between Mr Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mr Shane Korbeci, Albania's minister of Foreign Trade.

Mutual willingness was expressed for activation of cooperation, by paying greater attention to cooperation in various spheres of mutual interest. It was stressed that expansion of Bulgaro-Albanian economic relations will have a favourable impact on the further strengthening of cooperation, peace and interaction in the Balkans.

## Havel New Year's Address to Nation

*LD0101133190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1200 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[New Year's address to the nation by President Vaclav Havel; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens. For the past 40 years on this day you have heard my predecessors utter different variations on the same theme, about how our country is prospering, how many more billion tonnes of steel we have produced, how happy we all are, how much we trust our government, and what beautiful prospects lie ahead of us. I do not think you appointed me to this office for me, of all people, to lie to you.

Our country is not prospering. The great creative and spiritual potential of our nation is not being used to its full potential. Whole sectors of industry are producing things in which no one is interested, while the things we need are in short supply.

The state, which calls itself a state of the working people, is humiliating and exploiting the workers. Our outdated economy is squandering energy, of which we are in short supply. A country which could once be proud of the standard of education of its people spends so little on education that today it occupies 72d place in the world. We have laid waste and soiled the rivers and the forests that our forefathers bequeathed to us, and we have the worst environment in the whole of Europe today. Adults in our country die earlier than in most other European countries.

Allow me to tell you about a little personal experience of mine. Flying to Bratislava recently, I found time during various meetings to look out of the window. What I saw was the Slovnaft [oil refinery] complex and the Petrzalka suburb immediately beyond it. That view was enough for me to understand that our statesmen and politicians had not even looked, or did not even want to look out of the windows of their planes. None of the statistics available to me would have enabled me to understand more quickly or more easily the situation we have gotten ourselves into.

But not even all of that is the most important thing. The worst thing is that we are living in a decayed moral environment. We have become morally ill, because we have become accustomed to saying one thing and thinking another. We have learned not to believe in anything, not to have consideration for one another, and only to look after ourselves. Notions such as love, friendship, compassion, humility, and forgiveness have lost their depth and dimension, and for many of us they merely represent some kind of psychological idiosyncrasy, or appear to be some kind of stray relic from times past, something rather comical in the era of computers and space rockets. Few of us managed to cry out that the powerful should not be all-powerful, and that the special farms which produce ecologically sound and high-quality foodstuffs for them should send their produce to the schools, children's hostels, and hospitals, since our agriculture is not yet able to offer this to everyone.

The previous regime, armed with its arrogant and intolerant ideology, denigrated man into a production force and nature into a production tool. In this way it attacked their very essence and the relationship between them. It made talented people who were capable of managing their own affairs and making an enterprising living in their own country into cogs in some kind of monstrous, ramshackle, smelly machine whose purpose no one can understand. It can do nothing more than slowly but surely wear itself down, and all the cogs in it.

When I talk about a decayed moral environment, I do not mean merely those gentlemen who eat ecologically pure vegetables and do not look out of their airplane windows. I mean all of us, because all of us have become accustomed to the totalitarian system, accepted it as an unalterable fact, and thereby kept it running. In other words, all of us are responsible, each to a different degree, for keeping the totalitarian machine running. None of us is merely a victim of it, because all of us helped to create it together.

Why do I mention this? It would be very unwise to see the sad legacy of the past 40 years as something alien to us, handed down to us by some distant relatives. On the contrary, we must accept this legacy as something which we have brought upon ourselves. If we can accept this, then we will understand that it is up to all of us to do something about it. We cannot lay all the blame on those who ruled us before, not only because this would not be true, but also because it could detract from the responsibility each of us now faces—the responsibility to act on our own initiative, freely, sensibly and quickly.

Let us not delude ourselves: not even the best government, the best parliament, or the best president can do much on their own, and it would be profoundly unjust to expect them alone to put everything right. Freedom and democracy, after all, mean that we all have a part to play and bear joint responsibility. If we can realize this, then all the horrors which the new Czechoslovak democracy has inherited will suddenly cease to appear to terrible. If we can realize this, hope will return to our hearts.

In putting right the general state of affairs, we already have a sound footing on which to build. The recent times, and especially the last 6 weeks of our peaceful revolution, have shown what an enormous generally humane, moral, and spiritual charge and what high standards of civic maturity lay dormant in our society under the mask of apathy that had been forced upon it. Whenever anyone talking to me began to put categorical labels on our people, I always pointed out that society is a very mysterious creature, and that it is never wise to trust only the particular fact that it is presenting to you. I am glad to have been proven right.

Throughout the world, people are surprised that the acquiescent, humiliated, skeptical Czechoslovak people who apparently no longer believed in anything suddenly managed to find the enormous strength in the space of a few weeks to shake off the totalitarian system in a completely decent and peaceful way. We ourselves are also surprised at this, and we ask where the young people, in particular, who have never known any other system, find the source of their aspirations for truth, freedom of thought, political imagination, civic courage, and civic foresight? How is it that their parents, the generation which was considered lost, also joined in with them. How is it even possible that so many people immediately grasped what had to be done, without needing anyone else's advice or instructions?

I think that this hopeful aspect of our situation today has two main reasons. Above all, man is never merely a product of the world around him, he is always capable of striving for something higher, no matter how systematically this ability is ground down by the world around him. Secondly, the humanistic and democratic traditions—which are often spoken about in such a hollow way—nonetheless lay dormant somewhere in the subconscious of our nations and national minorities, and were passed on quietly from one generation to the next in order for each us to discover them within us when the time was right, and to put them into practice.

Of course, for our freedom today we also had to pay a price. Many of our people died in prison in the fifties; many were executed, thousands of human lives were destroyed and hundreds of thousands of talented people were driven abroad. Those who defended the honor of our nations in the war were persecuted, as were those who resisted totalitarian government, and those who simply managed to remain true to their own principles and think freely. None of those who paid the price in one way or another for our freedom today should be forgotten. Independent courts should justly assess the appropriate guilt of those responsible, so that the whole truth about our recent past comes out into the open.

Neither should we forget that other nations paid an even higher price for their freedom today, and thus they also paid indirectly for us too. The rivers of blood which flowed in Hungary, Poland, Germany, and recently also in such a horrific way in Romania, as well as the sea of blood shed by the nations of the Soviet Union, should not be forgotten, primarily because all human suffering affects every human being. But more than that, they must not be forgotten because it was these great sacrifices which weaved the tragic backcloth for today's freedom or gradual liberation of the nations of the Soviet bloc, and the backcloth of our newly charged freedom too.

Without the changes in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and the GDR, the developments in our country could hardly have happened, and if they had happened, they surely would not have had such a wonderful peaceful character. The fact that we had favorable international conditions, of course, does not mean that anyone was helping us directly in those weeks. For centuries, in fact, both our nations have risen up by themselves, without relying on any help from more powerful states or big powers.

This, it seems to me, is the great moral stake of the present moment. It contains the hope that in the future we will no longer have to suffer the complex of those who are permanently indebted to someone else. Now it is up to us alone whether this hope comes to fruition, and whether our civic, national, and political self-confidence reawakens in a historically new way.

Self-confidence is not pride. Quite the contrary. Only a man or a nation self-confident in the best sense of the word is capable of listening to the voice of others, accepting them as equal to oneself, forgiving their enemies, and regretting one's own mistakes. As such people, let us try to introduce self-confidence into the life of our community and as nations into our conduct on the international arena. Only thus shall we regain self-respect and respect for each other, as well as the respect of other nations. Our state should never again be a burden or a poor relation to anyone else. Although we have to take a great many things and learn many things from others, we must do this, after a long period of time, as equal partners who also have something to offer.

Our first president wrote "Jesus and not Caesar." In this he followed up both on Chelcicky [medieval philosopher and priest] and Komensky [known also as Comenius]. This idea has once again been reawakened in us. I dare say that perhaps we even have the possibility of spreading it further, thus introducing a new factor in both European and world politics. Love, desire for understanding, the strength of the spirit and of ideas can radiate forever from our country, if we want this to happen. This radiation can be precisely what we can offer as our very own contribution to world politics.

Masaryk founded his politics on morality. Let us try, in a new time and in a new way, to revive this concept of politics. Let us teach both ourselves and others that politics ought to be a reflection of the aspiration to contribute to the happiness of the community and not of the need to deceive or pillage the community. Let us teach both ourselves and others that politics does not have to be the art of the possible, especially if this means the art of speculating, calculating, intrigues, secret agreements, and pragmatic maneouvering, but that it also can be the art of the impossible, that is the art of making both ourselves and the world better.

We are a small country, but nonetheless we were once the spiritual crossroads of Europe. Is there any reason why we should not be so again? Would this not be another contribution through which we could pay others back for the help we will need from them?

The home mafia—those who do not look out of their airplane windows and eat specially-fed pigs—are still alive, true, and make trouble from time to time, but they are no longer our main enemy, and international mafias are even less of an enemy. Our worst enemy today is our own bad qualities—indifference to public affairs, conceit, ambition, selfishness, the pursuit of personal advancement, and rivalry—and that is the main struggle we are faced with.

We are going into free elections, and an election battle. Let us not allow that battle to sully the still clean face of our gentle revolution. Let us ensure that we do not lose the sympathy of the world, which we won so rapidly, equally rapidly by getting bogged down in a tangle of skirmishes for power. Let us not allow the aspiration to look after ourselves to flourish once again under the noble attire of the aspiration to serve the general cause.

Now the issue really is not which party, club, or group wins the elections. The issue now is that the elections are won by those who are best in the moral, civic, political, and specialist sense, regardless which party cards they hold. The future policy and the prestige of our state will depend on what kind of personalities we select and subsequently elect to our representative bodies.

Dear fellow citizens. By your will 3 days ago, as conveyed by Federal Assembly deputies, I became President of this Republic. You rightly expect me to mention the tasks which I see as your President lie ahead of us.

The first is to make use of all my powers and my influence to ensure that we all come soon and with dignity to the ballot box in free elections and that this journey of ours to this historic milestone is a decent and peaceful one.

My second task is to watch over to ensure that we come to these elections as two truly sovereign nations which respect each other's interests, national identity, religious traditions, and each other's symbols. As a Czech occupying the Presidential Office, who was sworn in by an important Slovak, who is also close to me, I feel after the various bitter experiences the the Slovaks experienced in the past a special duty to watch over to ensure that all interests of the Slovak nation are respected and that the access to any state office, including the highest one, is never closed to it in the future.

As my third task I regard my support for everything that will lead to a better position for children, the elderly, women, the sick, those involved in heavy manual work, members of ethnic minorities, and in general all citizens who are worse off than others for whatever reason. Better food and hospitals must no longer be the privilege of the powerful but must be offered to those who need them most.

As the Supreme Commander of the Defense Forces, I intend to guarantee that the defense capability of our state will no longer be a pretext for anyone to thwart courageous peace initiatives, including the shortening of military service, establishing a system of alternative military service, and generally making military life more humane.

Our country has many prisoners who, although they have committed serious crimes and have been sentenced for them, have had to pass through a decayed system of justice which has infringed their rights, despite the goodwill of certain investigating judges and, in particular, certain lawyers. They have to live in prisons which do not seek to awaken everything that is good in each of us, but on the contrary humiliate people, and destroy them in both body and mind.

In the light of this fact, I have decided to declare a relatively wide-ranging amnesty. I also ask prisoners to understand that 40 years of mistakes in investigation, the administration of justice, and imprisonment cannot be put right overnight, and to understand that all the hastily drawn-up changes will nonetheless take a certain time. By rioting in the prisons, they will not help either this society or themselves.

I then ask the public not to be afraid of the prisoners released, not to aggravate their lives, but to help them in a Christian spirit after their return among us to find in themselves what prisons have failed to find in them—the ability to repent and desire to live orderly lives.

My honorable task is to strengthen the authority of our country in the world. I would like other states to respect us for our show of understanding, tolerance, and love of peace. I would be happy if Pope John Paul II and the Dalai Lama of Tibet visited our country even for a single day before the elections take place. I would be happy if our friendly relations with all nations were strengthened. I would be happy if we succeeded even before the elections take place to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican and Israel. I would like to contribute to peace also by my brief visit tomorrow to our two mutually related neighbors, the GDR and the FRG. I shall not forget our other neighbors either: fraternal Poland, Hungary, and Austria, which are becoming increasingly close to us.

I would like to conclude by saying that I want to be a president of action rather than words, a president who not only looks out of the windows of his airplane carefully, but one, above all, who is consistently present among his fellow citizens and listens to them carefully.

Perhaps you are asking what kind of republic I have in mind. My reply is this: a republic which is independent, free, and democratic, with a prospering economy and also socially just—in short a republic of the people which serves the people, and is therefore entitled to hope that the people will serve it too. I have in mind a republic of people with a well-rounded education, because without such people none of our problems—whether human, economic, environmental, social, or political—can be tackled.

One of my most distinguished predecessors began his first speech by quoting Comenius. Allow me to end my first speech with my own paraphrase of that same statement: People, your government has returned to you!

## Havel Plans Amnesty, Makes Appointments

*LD2912194789 Prague CTK in English*
*1753 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)—New Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is preparing an amnesty to be declared on Monday, January 1, 1990.

The new president today appointed Josef Lzicar head of the president of the Republic's office.

At the same time he appointed Milan Knazko, Jiri Krizan and Sasa Vondra advisers to the president.

## Amnesty Outlined

*LD0101204290 Prague Domestic Service*
*in Czech 1830 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Czechoslovak socialist republic, on the occasion of his election, has decreed an amnesty with effect from 1 January 1990.

Article One pardons the following sentences, which have been or will be passed, for misdemeanors or criminal acts committed prior to the date of this decree; the offenders will be deemed as innocent:

—prison sentences, either unserved or their remainder, separately given for misdemeanours;

—unserved suspended prison sentences;

—unserved corrective training sentences or their remainders;

—Financial penalties which have not been paid or not have been paid in full, unless they have been given concurrently with a prison sentence.

Article Two: The president of the Republic pardons:

—Unserved prison sentences or their remainders, which have been or will be passed, for criminal acts committed prior to the date of this decree, unless they exceed 2 years in the case of intentional criminal acts or 3 years in the case of criminal negligence, or 3 years for aggregate and cumulative sentences given for intentional criminal acts and criminal negligence.

Regarding other prison sentences or their remainders, which have been or will be passed, for criminal acts committed prior to the date of this decree, the president of the republic pardons:

—one-third, but at least 2 years, of sentences for intentional criminal acts,

—one-half, but at least 3 years, or prison sentences for criminal negligence,

—one-third, but at least 3 years, of aggregate and cumulative prison sentences for intentional criminal acts and criminal negligence.

The provisions of Article Two concern also aggregate and cumulative sentences passed for acts of crime and misdemeanor.

According to Article Three, the president pardons sentences of deprivation of liberty, which have been lawfully passed for criminal acts committed before the day of this decision, at which the upper limit of the sentence of deprivation of liberty does not exceed 1 year with the effect that the perpetrator is deemed on the day of this decision as not having been sentenced.

According to Article Four, the president of the Republic orders not to institute proceedings for misdemeanors which were committed before the day of this decision.

According to Article Five, the president of the Republic orders not to institute and, if already instituted, to halt criminal proceedings for intentional criminal acts committed before the day of this decision, if a sentence of deprivation of liberty not exceeding 3 years applies to them, and furthermore for criminal acts committed out of negligence before the day of this decision, if a sentence of deprivation of liberty not exceeding 5 years applies to them.

According to Article Six of the decision of the president of the Republic on amnesty of 1 January 1990, the provisions of Articles Two and Five do not apply to criminal acts of abusing the powers of a public official according to Paragraph 158 of the Criminal Code and acts of crime and misdemeanors committed by him concurrently, furthermore for attempting criminal acts and completing the acts of crime of terror in accordance with Paragraph 179, Section Three of the Criminal Code, murder in accordance with Paragraph 219 of the Criminal Code, robbery in accordance with Paragraph 234, Sections Two and Three of the Criminal Code, rape in accordance with Paragraph 241, Sections Two and Three of the Criminal Code, and customs and excise offences in accordance with Paragraph 242, Sections Three and Four of the Criminal Code.

The provisions of Articles Two and Five do not apply to persons sentenced as especially dangerous habitual offenders in accordance with Paragraph 41 of the Crimninal Code.

From these sentences, which have been or will be passed lawfully for criminal acts committed before the day of this decision according to Article Six, with the exception of criminal acts of abusing the powers of a public official and the criminal acts and misdemeanors committed concurrently with them, the president of the Republic has pardoned 1 year off the sentences passed.

According to Article Seven, the president of the Republic has instructed the general prosecutor of the CSSR, ministers of justice of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic's, and the minister of national defense of the CSSR to submit to him for a decision on the basis of re-examination proposals to halt criminal proceedings or proposals to pardon or reduce sentences for criminal acts committed before the day of this decision, in the case of persons to whom this decision does not apply or to whom it applies only partially in the case of pregnant women, mothers looking after a child under the age of 15, or other persons who themselves look after such a child; furthermore men above the age of 60 and women above the age of 55, persons suffering from a serious illness or who are disabled, and persons accused or sentenced for criminal acts according to the First Chapter of the Special Section of the Criminal Code and for criminal acts of deserting abroad in accordance with Paragraph 283 of the Criminal Code.

The president of the Republic has instructed the general prosecutor of Czechoslovakia, ministers of justice of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republic's, and the minister of national defense to ensure that this decision is carried out by 21 January this year at the latest.

## Slovak Justice Minister on Amnesty

*LD0101220190 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 1 (CTK)—Slovak Justice Minister Ladislav Kosta said in his televised address Monday night that the amnesty declared today was a significant act of humanism of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who represents a symbol of the most humane democracy in the modern history of the nations of Czechoslovakia.

He said that in its extent, humaneness and justice, the present amnesty had no precedent in the past forty years, stressing that it applied to virtually all convicts though in a differentiated way, persons convicted for serious crimes, such as murders, robberies, sexual abuse and others have their sentenced shortened by one year, which means that the majority of these convicts will remain in prison for the time being. Excluded from the amnesty completely are public officials who in the past abused their powers for unjustifiable enrichment and for other forms of damaging the interests of the people, Minister Kosta said.

## Czech Justice Minister on Amnesty

*LD0101210390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Statement by Dr Dagmar Buresova, Czech Socialist Republic minister of justice; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens. The New Year 1990 is for us a path of hope, a return to the humanitarian ideals of our countries, and faith in man and human solidarity. It has to be for all of us, indeed. Thus, the president of the Republic has used his constitutional right and granted amnesty. This is a broad amnesty because no matter what crimes those who are being punished have committed, and sometimes even very serious ones, the sentences have been, especially in recent years, excessively harsh in many cases. The amnesty concerns in principle all those facing trials or those already sentenced; its extent depends on the seriousness of the crime. Excluded from its benefits are only those who have committed the crime of abusing the power of a public official. We want to introduce again equal opportunities for all and to prevent the abuse of power. The responsibility for such a abuse of power, which resulted in the delegation of basic human values over the past 40 years, has to be clearly ascertained and those who are quilty must be punished.

Esteemed Fellow Citizens! This amnesty is in its way exceptional, as its aim is not only the release of those accused and sentenced, but also their genuine integration into society. For this, goodwill from all of us is needed.

Citizens, you who will be released on the basis of the amnesty, you above all have to realize that this time is also binding for you to develop in you all that which is good in every man. You have to start with yourself every one of you, and not only with good intentions, but also with a realistic vision of your future life.

The amnesty will be implemented in stages. All those affected by this decision will be released from the first corrective training group and from custody in the next few days. Those sentenced in the second and third corrective training groups will be released gradually-over 3 weeks at the most. Also, there will be a certain differentiation among them. First of all, those who have a prospect for a problem-free integration into society because they have good family support and a job opportunity will be released. Finally, the amnesty is also granted to those with long sentences who, after 1 year has been pardoned, can apply for a conditional release from serving the sentence. [as heard] Those of you to whom the amnesty does not apply and who believe that criminal proceedings against them have not been conducted properly, and thus consider the sentence unjust, can submit an appeal with a complaint for violation of the law, can demand renewal of proceedings, possibly ask for an individual pardon. I promise you that these applications will be thoroughly and carefully investigated.

Convicts, be patient and disciplined. Do realize that for every unlawful act committed after the amnesty declaration, that is, from this moment, you bear full criminal responsibility.

Cooperation from a number of bodies is needed for the amnesty to be carried out. Thus, I turn to you, judges and prosecutors, and ask you to assist, by your increased working effort, a speedy implementation of this decision.

I also turn to you, members of the corrective training corps—and I know that your service, especially recently, has not been easy—to cooperate operatively with courts and prosecutors' offices.

I appeal to you, deputies and staff of national committees, that you too assist in the difficult situation of those released.

I am also asking you, senior economic workers, to consider in a humane and responsible way the possibility of employing those released and to give them your trust.

Finally, I am turning to our entire public. We all have to learn to live in a different way, morally, honestly, in mutual trust and tolerance. Our attitude toward those released is the first big test of our goodwill.

## Slovak Government Statement on Prison Situation

*AU0101122090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Slovak Socialist Republic Government Statement"]

[Text] Bratislava (CTK)— On 23 December 1989 the premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the minister of justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic, the chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the Slovak National Council, and a representative of the Military Prosecutor's Office paid a visit to the Corrective Education Institute at Leopoldov where they met with elected representatives of the convicts, who submitted their demands. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence movement.

In view of the fact that the dialogue, which was also carried by Czechoslovak Television, met with a wide response, the premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic made available to CTK the following statement:

The dialogue resulted in the adoption of specific measures, the application of which applies also to the other institutes of corrective education in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The demands can be met only through a consistent compliance with the Constitution, laws, and generally binding legal provisions. As for the granting of an amnesty, the participants in the meeting stated that they will initiate the granting of an amnesty by the Federal Government or the new CSSR president.

The participants in the dialogue regard the humanization of the conditions under which prison sentences are served as an organic part of the democratization of our society. This will also find its expression in new legislative proposals and, in particular, in the revision [rekodifikace] of the penal code, including the amendment to the law on serving prison terms. The amendments will concern mainly the convicts' medical, social, and labor conditions. At the same time, their freedom of conscience and of religious and political beliefs will be guaranteed.

At the same time, the prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic, in cooperation with the ministry of justice, will ensure in some cases an inquiry into the lawfulness of verdicts which have already acquired the force of law.

In the course of the dialogue with the convicts, several comments were raised regarding the work of some members of the Corrective Educational Corps. In the interest of ascertaining the objective truth, the minister of justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the chief of the Administration of the Corrective Educational Corps for the Slovak Socialist Republic will reexamine their justification and, in the event of well-founded suspicion of criminal activity, will pass on their findings to the appropriate military prosecutor. At the same time it needs to be stated unequivocally that the work of members of the Corrective Educational Corps is essential for society and exceptionally demanding. The overwhelming majority of members of this corps performs it honestly, with dedication, and in harmony with the legal code. The Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic will support the discharging of their duties.

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government assures our fellow citizens that it is aware of its obligation to guarantee calm and the safety of citizens and that it consistently fulfills this task.

## Further on Unrest in Czechoslovak Prisons

*AU0101123190*

[Editorial Report] The Czechoslovak party press from 23 to 27 December carries a number of reports on strikes in various Czechoslovak penitentiaries.

On 23 December on page 2, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 300-word "hm, vo"-signed article entitled "Wave of Discontent Among Leopoldov Prisoners." The report deals with a meeting between convicts of the third-category prison at Leopoldov and the management of the prison on 22 December, at which the convicts demanded, inter alia, a general amnesty, the right to vote, a meeting with representatives of the Public Against Violence movement, "the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the inhuman crimes" committed at Leopoldov, a reduction in the number of prison guards and an increase in the number of qualified psychologists, a reduction of the maximum prison term to 10 years, and the "limitation of senseless repressive actions in prisons."

On 24 December on page 2, under the headline "Strikes in Prisons," PRAVDA carries a 150-word CTK report on the hunger strike staged by some 850 inmates of the prison at Banska Bystrica-Kralova and a 250-word CTK report on the hunger strike of inmates of the prison at Kosice-Saca. According to the Banska Bystrica correspondent, the strike at Kralova was touched off by the "death of one inmate, the causes of which are not yet known." The 14-point list of the convicts' demands is said to include, next to an inquiry into the death of the prisoner, "respect for the principles of human dignity during personal searches and the departure of the institute's physician and of compromised staff of the Corrective Educational Corps." According to the report, the inmates intend to continue their hunger strike until their demands are met. The Kosice correspondent reports that on 23 December representatives of the "coordinating strike committee of the convicts" of the Saca penitentiary continued their "dialogue" with representatives of the ministry of justice, the general prosecutor's office, the Slovak administration of the Corrective Educational Corps, the management of the prison, and the Public Against Violence movement. They reportedly submitted 11 demands "concerning mainly the conditions of life while serving prison terms, with special emphasis on observance of human dignity, as well as questions of financial and social nature." After receiving "guarantees that their justified demands would be met," the convicts reportedly called off their strike and the hunger strike.

On 27 December on page 2, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech carries a 2,000-word CTK round-up of correspondents' reports on the situation in various penitentiaries. In addition to the referent Slovak Government statement, the round-up includes a 250-word report on Czech Minister of Justice Dagmar Buresova's television statement on the situation in prisons in the Czech Socialist Republic; a 100-word report on Slovak Minister of Justice Ladislav Kosta's meeting with the striking inmates of the prison at Ilava; a 200-word report on the hunger strike staged by inmates of the Ostrava-Hermanice prison; as well as CTK correspondents' reports, ranging between 150 and 300 words, on demands of striking prisoners at Horni Slavkov, Plzen-Bory, Banska Bystrica-Kralova, and Kosice-Saca, the last two of which are identical with the reports carried by Bratislava PRAVDA on 24 December. According to the Horni Slavkov and Plzen-Bory correspondents, the convicts' demands there are similar to those of prisoners elsewhere in the republic.

## Wardens Issue Statement on Prison Situation

*AU0101152390*

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "Separating Truth from Lie," Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 December on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,700-word CTK report on a meeting of representatives of prison guards from several Slovak penitentiaries (Banska Bystrica-Kralova, Zeliezovce, Kosice-Saca, Leopoldov, Dubnica nad Vahom, Bratislava, Ilava, Ruzomberok, Martin, and Trnava) held at Banska Bystrica-Kralova on 26 December to assess the current "unrest" in Slovak prisons.

The report includes the text of a statement adopted at the meeting as well as a list of the prison guards' demands. According to the statement, the meeting expressed "reservations" about media coverage of the unrest and accused "one of the enforced media visits to the corrective education establishments," the televised "dialogue" from the Leopoldov penitentiary, of having "served as a triggering mechanism for events which, at the time of this festival of peace, could have unfathomable consequences." In particular, the prison guards express their "indignation" at the fact that, in the relay from Leopoldov, convicts were allowed to accuse named members of the "Corrective Educational Corps" of wrongdoings, "without proper investigation of the charges and in violation of the presumption of innocence, one of the basic postulates in the sphere of criminal law." In the statement, the prison guards demand the publication of all previously secret information on prison conditions, because the present policy of suppressing information has "cast a very bad light on members of the Corrective Educational Corps of the Slovak Socialist Republic" and created an atmosphere of "hatred, envy, and suspicion." They also emphasize the hardships of their work, pointing out that every "educator" works with up to 100 inmates, far more than elsewhere in the world.

The demands raised at the meeting include the demand for an apology by Slovak Television to prison guards who had been accused of "violation of socialist legality on the basis of the convicts' one-sided point of view and in violation of the principle of presumption of innocence"; the demand for better protection of prison guards, including outside of working hours; as well as the demand for prison guards' say in the formulation of legislation concerning their work. According to the PRAVDA report, the meeting also voiced the participants' "dissatisfaction with the course taken by the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and by the Administration of the Corrective Educational Corps for the Slovak Socialist Republic" because they allowed the unrest to spread to all Slovak penitentiaries, allowed "blameless" members of the Corrective Educational Corps to be compromised, allowed convicts to "dictate" personnel issues in penitentiaries, "ordered that documentation about the course of the revolt in corrective education establishments [prepared by the prison guards] be handed over to the convicts for destruction"; and issued a written guarantee that the convicts would not be held accountable for what the prison guards describe as their "illegal deeds" during the revolt.

## Political Prisoners Set Up 'Nonpolitical' Group

*LD1512223489 Prague CTK in English*
*1937 GMT 15 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—The aims of the newly established Confederation of Czechoslovak Political Prisoners ensuing from the tradition of the K 231 Society of Political Prisoners operating in 1968 were explained to CTK by its representatives here Friday.

"The confederation will be a non-political organisation associating political prisoners of 1948-1989. It will publish documents about sufferings of political prisoners and evidence about criminal acts against innocent people who strove for democracy. Besides former prisoners of the 1950's, the preparatory committee was also joined by the prisoners of conscience of the 1970's and 1980's. The committee will submit an application for registration next week", Jitka Rybakova-Kufflerova, Frantisek Melichar, and other members of the confederation said.

"We have found out that some 178 innocent persons have been executed and another 8,000 tortured to death and killed during interrogations, or on an alleged escape", Frantisek Melichar said.

The confederation has set for itself three main tasks: to reach satisfaction and rehabilitation of all unjustly persecuted, imprisoned, and tortured persons since 1948, to publish evidence about state administration misdeeds, and [to set up] a social program recompensing the afflicted and their families as far as possible.

### Havel Appoints Sacher Interior Minister

*LD3012190689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30*

[Text] I have just received this news in the studio: On 30 December 1989, under Article 61, paragraph 1, section 6 of Constitutional law number 143/68 on the Czechoslovak Federation, CSSR President Vaclav Havel, after agreement with Federal Premier Marian Calfa, has placed Dr Richard Sacher, Minister of the CSSR government, in charge of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

In view of the fact that government minister Dr Sacher has already taken the constitutional oath, this appointment takes effect immediately.

### Havel Appoints Sitar Prosecutor General

*LD0101174590 Prague CTK in English 1621 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague Jan 1 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia today appointed Dr Pavol Sitar prosecutor-general of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

### Calfa Appoints Deputy Defense Ministers

*LD2912205189 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)—Major-General Anton Slimak has been appointed first deputy defence minister and commander in chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

He has been appointed to this post by Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa prior to the election of the Czechoslovak president.

Antonin Rasek has been appointed deputy defence minister for culture and education in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

At the same time the Czechoslovak premier recalled from the post of chief of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army Colonel-General Jaroslav Klicha, and other officers.

### Havel Takes Over Supreme Command of Armed Forces

*LD0201141190 Prague CTK in English 1314 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 2 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia said today that Czechoslovakia links its defence with efforts aimed at disarmament, while proceeding from commitments arising from its membership of the Warsaw Treaty.

In an order issued on the occasion of taking over the Supreme Command of the Czechoslovak armed forces, President Havel said "We link the country's defence with the peaceful development in Europe and the whole world, with efforts leading to arms cuts and to disarmament, while proceeding from commitments arising for Czechoslovakia from its membership of the Warsaw Treaty".

### * Havel Seen as Symbol of Political Vision

*90EC0169A Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 12 Dec 89 p 3*

[Article by Michael Frank: "CSSR: Will Vaclav Havel Be State President?: The Unshakable Man of the People: Why the Office May Go to the Writer Instead of the Failed Prague Spring's Alexander Dubcek"]

[Text] Vienna, 11 Dec—The Austrians underestimated the Czechs and Slovaks. Fascinated by pictures of GDR citizens flooding the palaces of consumption in West Berlin and the FRG after holes were punched in the Wall, there were hopes, especially in Lower Austria and Vienna, of a buying fervor on the same scale when several days ago the government in Prague suddenly liberalized travel regulations for its citizens. It was a striking indication of how little a kilo of bananas or a cheap radio means to the citizens of the CSSR, thirsting for human dignity and freedom: Only gradually did the number of visitors swell into a stream. And the people, who initially gazed at the display windows in glittering Vienna and the pretty provincial cities, were ultimately present in greatest numbers at museums, exhibitions, and concerts.

The fact that some of those activities were free and that the people from Czechoslovakia scarcely brought any hard currency with them may be the superficial explanation favored by skeptics. Still, it was astonishing to see how the newcomers brought with them baked goods, Christmas decorations, and other nice things to joyously give away to the first people whom they encountered on their first excursion. They came with musical instruments under their arms, and spread refreshing merriment in the often so grumpy Vienna. And the big rush on the border did not take place until days after the barriers fell: for a peace festival at Hainburg an der Donau. The people who had been assumed to comprehend freedom first and foremost as freedom of consumption rushed by the hundreds of thousands through the former Iron

Curtain in order to demonstrate together with like-minded Austrians at the "Human Rights Day," which is an actual issue for them in these days of the peaceful revolution in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia.

It is on the basis of these motives of the "rabble-rousers" that the representatives of a "new" Czechoslovakia will have to be assessed. "The children's revolution" has no desire to look back. It is filled with an undreamed-of idealistic impetus. Vaclav Havel, the spokesman of the Civic Forum in Prague, who has increasingly been transformed from an oppressed playwright to the leading figure in this new cultural revolution, has himself left a lasting mark on the image of the "children's revolution." What is meant here are the children of the generation that forfeited all of its political courage because of the violent end to the reform movement of the 1968 Prague Spring, the generation of people today between 40 and 70 years old, whose vision of socialism with a human face was stamped out by tank tracks and who were left with deep suspicion and a fatal paralysis. They did find the strength to play a Schwejk [fictional hero who carried out every order to the furthest extreme] trick on the regime, but not to offer genuine resistance for 20 years.

## Symbol of a Vision

This time, the generation conflict in Czechoslovakia did not lead to battle and confrontation. On the contrary, this time the "children" managed to reanimate their paralyzed elders in such a way that they finally joined them in the streets, overcoming their deep depression. As president, the "children" simply want someone who is not paralyzed, who despite his admitted depressions has remained steadfast. And because the young people—university and high school students, as well as young kolkhoz farmers—have no desire for the past, they want Vaclav Havel to lead the state, not Alexander Dubcek.

Dubcek's role in the few days of the revolution clearly cannot be overestimated. A person who symbolizes one of the most exciting visions of European postwar history, who remains true to his ideals for reforming communism after he is deposed and exiled, who is then able, after years of silence, to declare before millions that he has been proven right—this type of person is naturally accorded sympathy. When the masses at Letna Plain [large meadow used for festive occassions and demostrations] and Wenceslaus Square 2 weeks ago called for "Dubcek in the castle," referring to Hradschin [the Prague castle], the headquarters of the state president, this was more than simply a momentary emotion. After the state president and former "normalization" party chief Gustav Husak was forced out by ultimatum, however, most people became aware of how little they want to deal with historical burdens. For the students, for example, Dubcek is scarcely a father figure, more like a tragic hero, but in any event scarcely a leading figure for the future. For them, but also for their parents, he embodies the vision of 1968, but through his failure also the wretched humiliation that they had thought no longer possible after Nazi tyranny. "We want to bury the trauma of 1968 right here!" declared one of the speakers to the 200,000 people in Prague's Wenceslaus Square only last Sunday. This means that with all due respect Dubcek should not be this year's Job in the Hradschin.

Instead of the tragic figure, a figure of the future like Vaclav Havel is wanted, especially since he still retains the aura of the uncomfortable. Admittedly, there is another serious reason for why Havel is preferred over Dubcek: Everything that smacks of communism or socialism is so discredited in the country that Civic Forum, the Communist Party, and the former socialist and Christian democratic bloc parties have just agreed that a non-party member must represent the entire state of the Czechs and Slovaks in the future. This practically eliminates Dubcek, if he continues to demand his rehabilitation in the communist movement and his honorable return to the party. Dubcek would consider it opportunistic self-denial if he were to renounce his socialist vision.

## The System Exposed

Havel was never a dissident, but rather always an opposition figure. He was never a communist, and thus could not be accused of "deviation," which is what makes those true to the party line hate dissidents so much. Havel has always stressed that he is a writer, not a politician. His only decidedly political work in earlier days was an essay during the Prague Spring about the possibility of founding other parties in addition to the then reform-minded communists. Still, the "normalizers" under Husak were so enraged by the grotesque comedies by playwright Havel, in which he exposed the internal dynamics of totalitarian systems based on the simplest human reactions, that they imposed on him a ban on writing and performing in 1969. The son of a solidly middle-class family proved to be unshakable, and it was only under repression that he became truly politicized. He was sentenced several times and went to jail for a total of nearly 6 years, head held high. "The man," according to a member of the central strike committee for the students in Prague, "showed us what it means to have no fear."

Havel's continual protestations that he is not seeking office have never been merely a pose that he has struck. Should he now become the new state president of the CSSR—"Don't say Husak's successor, people like Husak have no successors, nor should they," a man in Civic Forum says, reprimanding a reporter—then that office will come easy to him. For his generation, humiliated by 1968, he has become the braver big brother, while for the "children" of the revolution he has already assumed father stature. Havel was never a raging warrior against the communist state, badgering the regime with Solzhenytsin-type hate: He offered dialogues, one after another, which the regime either ignored or accepted as a reason for renewed repression. "The regime rejected dialogue, and now it must step down." It is that simple.

A respected Austrian journalist who was himself born in Prague recently said this about Havel: "He has the right stuff to be a new Masaryk!" The founder and first president of the first Czechoslovak Republic after 1918, Tomas Masaryk, a democratic socialist, has achieved an undreamed-of level of popularity in recent years, especially among students. Although Havel, unlike Masaryk, is not much of a visionary, similar hopes seem to be increasingly turned in his direction as the—in overly dramatic terms—spiritual unifier of the fatherland. The writer, who in front of large crowds tends to express himself with difficulty, has admittedly acquired a taste for public debate in confrontations with the masses and with the international press. And yes, he has even developed a modest talent for rhetoric.

Who else could be found for the role of state president, the moral standard for which was established by the hapless Gen Ludvik Svoboda? In 1968, Svoboda, through a suicide threat, protected Dubcek and his comrades-in-arms from being arrested and executed during their dramatic visit to Moscow. Although the new cabinet of reform communist Marian Calfa named on Sunday was able with surprising speed to tap into an unexpectedly large reservoir of unencumbered experts for a transformed political line, the policy of ossification over the past 20 years has at least deprived the political nation of its last dignified leaders. An almost tragic figure in this is the recently resigned Gustav Husak—a communist by conviction—who spent years in prison during Stalin's era as a "henchman of imperialism," and was then even involved in formulating the new reform constitution in 1969. As the executive organ of "normalization," he lacked the talent of the Hungarian Janos Kadar, who through domestic relaxation was transformed from a hated oppressor to a figure of fatherly stature. Despite his bad experiences with Stalinism, Husak himself later acted in accordance with the same intellectual rigidity as his erstwhile tormentor.

In the meantime, the Federal Assembly in Prague is preparing for the election of the new head of state by looking for ways to get rid of the characters and eminences grises of the just-completed post-Stalinist era. All the powerful figures in the old KPC [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] who have resigned or have been removed from party and state functions—not the least of which is party chief Milos Jakes, who has sunk to the level of the ridiculous—continue to hold on to their seats with provocative equanimity. On Monday, the committees met to search the Constitution and the statutes of the two chambers of parliament for provisos that would allow them to disencumber themselves of the personnel burden of the past 20 years. If this does not happen, then it is feared that a final act of sabotage by the orthodox forces during the upcoming election for state president could throw everything into confusion. What would happen then was presaged at noon on Monday. After the government was formed, the general strike that had been called was cancelled. Instead, the final hour of the old system was marked as bells pealed, sirens howled, car horns honked, trucks, trains, and inland ships sounded off, and the people rang bells and rattled key rings.

## Havel Congratulated on Presidential Appointment

*LD2912205289 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] The newly-elected president of the republic was congratulated in the state rooms of Prague Castle this morning by the members of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly. Its chairman, Alexander Dubcek, speaking on behalf of the deputies, said they are looking forward to working together for the good of the whole of our country.

The government of national understanding headed by the premier, Marian Calfa, also pledged support to Vaclav Havel for his work in the post of president, stemming from the personal respect in which he is held by the Czechoslovak people. It supports him in the preparation of both free elections and social and economic reforms.

Vaclav Havel expressed the hope that he, too, will be a president of national understanding.

Then, in the presence of Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, he received good wishes from the members of Prague's diplomatic corps for success in discharging his duties, and in improving international relations, for which new paths are being opened at this moment. [Passage omitted on Havel inspecting guard of honor]

The newly-elected president also received more congatulations from the members of the Presidium of the Czech National Council and the Czech Government, who described Vaclav Havel's election as a sign of the will of the people and of their confidence that he will lead the country along the path of democracy, prosperity and happiness.

Vaclav Havel also congratulated by the members of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council and Slovak Government, who also informed him that following their reconstruction and the new conditions, they are ready to discharge the duties awaiting them.

Receiving congratulations from representatives of culture, education and sport, Vaclav Havel said that he will not forget the arts, a sphere from which he comes, and that in education he will strive to return Czechoslovakia to the position which it held in the past.

The next to congratulate the president of the Republic were representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army, in whom Vaclav Havel expressed full confidence and understanding for their problems.

Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek also congratulated the new president, assuring him of the support of the Christian churches in Czechoslovakia.

## CPCZ Leaders Hail Havel

*LD2912221789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Ladislav Adamec, the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] chairman, and Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, have sent a letter of congratulations to Vaclav Havel which states that his election has resumed the historical tradition by which the highest office in our state should be occupied by a person with no party affiliation who enjoys general respect and international prestige.

Bohuslav Kucera, the chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and its central [as heard] secretary, Jan Skoda, have sent a letter of congratulations to Vaclav Havel, the president of the Republic, highlighting his attitudes, merit, and work in the recent period and in past years.

## Carnogurskiy Outlines Government's Tasks

*LD2812211189 Prague CTK in English 1929 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—"We are facing two main tasks: To create political and legislative conditions for the forthcoming elections to representative bodies and ensure fluent operation of national economy and gradualy dynamize its further development", Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogurskiy stressed here today.

Speaking at a meeting of Miroslav Kusy, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly for Press and Information, with journalists, Jan Carnogursky underlined that the new government is convinced about the advantages of pluralist democracy, market economy and about the duty of the government to ensure civil rights for the citizens. The most significant task of the government is to prepare free democratic elections, he said.

The government prepares a law on political parties, on the freedom of assembly, association, church laws and a new law on the press, Carnogurskiy stressed.

Dealing with the economic policy of the government, he said that the government has started an uneasy course of changing the centrally planned economy into decentralized market economy. A significant step on this road will be demonopolization of the structures of enterprises, whose tool should also be an amendment to the law on state enterprises which is being prepared. It includes a pragmatist attitude to the export of Czechoslovak currency and its return. The economic program of the government provides for equal rights for various forms of ownership, foundation of private enterprises and a tax reform.

The government ensues from basic geopolitical constants of the position of the republic. Czechoslovakia is part of the Warsaw Treaty which is considered the basic guarantee for the country's security. Czechoslovakia's membership in the Warsaw Treaty has gained new impulses after the declaration of five Warsaw Treaty states which participated in the intervention of the republic in 1968, condemning the action. Czechoslovakia wants to establish its security and future international position on overcoming Europe's division into blocks and on cooperation with all states of Europe, above all with its neighbours. A significant stage on this road will be more intensive contacts with the European Communities, Carnogurskiy underlined.

## Calfa Interviewed on Government Tasks

*LD0101164490 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Prague, Jan 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said today that nothing can dissuade Czhoslovakia from the started path towards a democratic political system.

In an interview granted to the Czechoslovak news agency, the federal premier said a well-working economy is the basic prerequisite for Czechoslovakia's further development. "We shall consistently part with the system of management that prevailed in our country for many years. Our strategic goal is to prepare the transition to a market economy," he stressed, and added that a consistent opening of Czechoslovakia's economy to the outside world is the decisive condition of success.

Pointing out that democratization of life and changes in economy are linked with the need for many legislative changes. Marian Calfa said these will concern mainly electoral legislation, laws on assembly, association and on the press, work on the new constitution will continue this year.

Asked for his ideas of ways of returning Czechoslovakia back to Europe, Marian Calfa said "we seek to develop mutually advantageous economic cooperation with all countries. Cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance must go much deeper and must be more efficient. We put emphasis on establishing contacts with the European communities and we are interested in concrete cooperation with all the other countries...sharing in the building of a common European home is the basis of our policy. The removal of the barriers on the joint borders with our neighbours—the FRG and Austria—is the beginning and symbol of our further course of action," the federal premier said.

## Dienstbier on Nation's New Role

*LD0201101890 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by unidentified reporter "on the eve of the New Year"; place not given—recorded; Dienstbier in Czech with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr Dienstbier, you are the foreign minister in the new Czechoslovak government which qualitatively differs from previous governments and you have to deal with a rapidly changing Europe. What role do you think Czechoslovakia should play?

[Dienstbier] I think that so far Czechoslovakia has played a passive role, never questioning whoever was in power. This policy over the past years may have obstructed the European process of development and understanding. Czechoslovakia lies in the center of Europe. We should play a significant role since we are situated on the border which divides Europe into two blocs. Recent history tells us these blocs must be modified into a democratic and pluralistic system.

[Correspondent] As far as Czechoslovak-Soviet relations are concerned do you assume some changes will be made in them?

[Dienstbier] I think we should keep close relations with all countries and certainly with the Soviet Union. The current Soviet policy acknowledges and respects Czechoslovak independence and sovereignty. After the rejection of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of the five Warsaw Treaty member states of Czechoslovakia the main obstacle to relations between our nations was removed. Now, after the revolution, I think the Czech and Soviet foreign policies are much closer than they were.

[Correspondent] Correct systems with neighboring Germany have been a difficult question for centuries. What will Czechoslovakia's policy toward the possible reunification be like?

[Dienstbeir] I think that now when we have the possibility of creating a unified Europe we must increase our cooperation with both East and West Germany and give equal consideration to both. We agree with West Germany's foreign minister, Genscher, and Austria's foreign minister, Mock, that a joint commission be created consisting of historians, lawyers and other scientists who will analyze our past relations without emotions and in a matter of fact way.

[Correspondent] Among the many posters in Prague streets I see one that shows Czechoslovakia climing back to Europe up a steep ladder. We are returning to Europe as such and also moving from the iron frame of Eastern Europe back to the original position, that is Central Europe. Is Central Europe only a geographical term or also a political one?

[Dienstbier] We must consider things within the framework of all Europe. Czechoslovakia is returning to Europe and so are other countries. So in answer to your question I would say that Central Europe is now only a geographical term or should be. All Europe must get together. We must help each other solve our political problems. As far as international contacts are concerned we must transform quantity to quality and prepare concrete agreements which will improve the life of the people in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, agreements which will have closer cultural and economic understanding. Naturally, this will be most important for our relations with the neighboring countries. However, we must seek balance. We cannot just deal with the few countries like we did in the past. When equalizing economic relations between East and West we must do our best to make these relations really pluralistic.

[Correspondent] Czechoslovakia opens itself to the world and the world opens to Czechoslovakia. What do you think should be preferential now at the beginning of 1990?

[Dienstbier] This is a very difficult question. The most important thing is mutual understanding. We are trying to arrange scholarships at foreign schools for students and make it possible for everyone who wants to learn something to travel. It is necessary for Czechoslovaks to see the world which is developing very quickly.

## Salaries of Government Members Divulged

*AU0201105390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 8*

[CTK report: "Salaries of Government Members"]

[Text] Prague—As of April 1989, the basic functional salary of the ministers of the CSSR Government is Kcs144,000 per annum. This salary is taxed in accordance with the general income tax regulations, and no salary allowances, overtime rates, or compensatory salary are granted. To pay for increased expenses connected with the carrying out his constitutional function, a minister receives a tax-free flat-rate of Kcs60,000 per annum. However, he receives neither travel allowance for journeys within the country, with the exception of accomodation and fare compensation when away from his family, nor deputy's compensation [poslanecka nahrada], nor payment for other functions, with the exception of a payment connected with the rank of academician or corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The basic functional salary of CSSR deputy premiers is Kcs192,000 per annum, and an annual flat-rate of Kcs72,000 (for first deputy premiers Kcs78,000) for expenses. The CSSR premier's basic functional salary is Kcs240,000 per annum and Kcs120,000 for expenses. The rest is as with ministers.

Members of the government have an official car and a telephone at their disposal. They have no other privileges. They pay the rent and the maintenance of their housing, electricity, gas, water, and so forth out of their salaries.

Thus, the incomes of the members of the government are comparable with the incomes of directors general and directors of large state industrial enterprises. Highly qualified directors of enterprises which achieve very good results might earn as much as Kcs156,000-228,000 annually.

## Phone Calls, Mail No Longer Monitored

*AU0201104590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 89 p 2*

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—In the course of negotiations with the Statewide Association of Strike Committees, the CSSR Ministry of Transportation and Communications [FMDS] affirmed that in some telephone exchanges there are rooms with a so-called special designation, equipped by the Ministry of the Interior, and the communications' employees had not been acquainted with their function.

Between 4 and 11 December 1989, the communications organization and the FMDS did something which makes it totally impossible to use the equipment to monitor telephone calls. The rooms have been sealed. [passage omitted]

From a report on the postal service it arises that, on the basis of the decree of the Federal Office for Press and Information of 11 December 1989, the ban was lifted on the import and dissemination of periodicals, with the exception of periodicals which propagate violence, pornography, war, fascism, Nazism, racial discrimination, or which are in some other way at variance with humaneness. In connection with the planned amendment to the law on foreign exchange, as of 15 December 1989 letters from abroad are not checked to see whether they contain foreign currency. The communications organization and postal employees do not check or handle mail, they only submit it for checking. [sentence as published]

The FMDS and the communications organization have prevented the checking of domestic mail. This procedure has been determined by the law on mails no. 222/46, which also regulates the observance of the privacy of the mail. Infringement of this law is punishable. Procedures vis-a-vis courts and bodies involved in criminal proceedings are identical to those in telecommunications.

## Commission on 17 Nov Events Resumes Work

*LD0201150990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Members of the joint commission of the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, students and Civic Forum, who are supervising the investigation of the events of 17 November, held their first meeting of the new year in Prague today. They concerned themselves with the final editing of the report to be submitted to the Federal Assembly, which will sum up the work of the parliamentary commission for the past 10 days.

The report says that on the basis of a consultation with the former general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, Milos Jakes, the then federal minister of the interior, Frantisek Kincl, issued an order declaring an emergency security action [code-named] Student throughout the state territory in the period between 17 and 20 November. The secretariat of the Prague City CPCZ Committee under Miroslav Stepan's leadership had adopted a decision already on 14 November which instructed the chief of the Directorate of the National Security Corps to prepare a course of action to prevent any possible provocations by groups of students, who wanted to march along a different route.

Jozef Stank, chairman of the parliamentary commission, said in an interview with a CTK correspondent, that they were preparing today a more detailed program for the coming days. They will invite further, primarily former political and public officials to give a testimony. They will further investigate the share of the State Security Service in the events of 17 November.

Asked whether the establishment of a similar parliamentary commission would serve a purpose, for instance to reexamine the procedure in the investigation of the Babinsky [bribery] case, Jozef Stank, the chairman of the parliamentary commission replied" It all depends on how independently the organs active in criminal proceedings will function during the period leading to free elections. In view of the fact that many things were deliberately obscured, suppressed, and unpublished during the investigation, Jozef Stank went on, I think that the commission will still serve its purpose, naturally provided that competent experts are appointed to it.

## Biography of Federal Assembly Chairman Dubcek

*LD2812230389 Prague CTK in English 2228 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—Alexander Dubcek was born on November 27, 1921, at Uhrovec, Topolcany District, West Slovakia. He was apprenticed to a locksmith fitter. He joined the Slovak Communist Party in 1939. In 1955-1958 he studied at the Moscow College of Political Sciences attached to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

He was deputy to the national, later on the Federal Assembly in 1951-1955 and 1960-1970 and to the Slovak National Council in 1964-1970.

In 1963-1967 he was first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and from January 1968 to April 1969 first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the initiator and representative of the revival process and the effort at socialism with a human face.

He was chairman of the Federal Assembly in 1969, and in 1969-1970 he served in the diplomatic corps. He was stripped of his party membership in 1970.

Later on he worked in a West Slovak forestry enterprise and before going into retirement he was a locksmith fitter again. He was expelled from the revolutionary trade union movement, and was forbidden to join any social organisation including the Slovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters.

He lived under the state police supervision for eighteen years. A national campaign against his person was launched in 1975 because of his protest letter to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council against the totalitarian and police regime in Czechoslovakia. He was detained for the last time by Interior Ministry bodies during the November 17, 1989 rally.

He is married, a father of three children living in Bratislava.

### Dienstbier Interviewed on New Role as Minister

*AU2912093489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Dec 89 p 6*

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Anna Husarska and Andrzej Jagodzinski; date and place not given: "From the Boiler Room to the Palace"]

[Text] [Question] Apparently you were still working in a boiler room on Sunday and then on Monday you were already moving to the ministry's headquarters in the Cernin Palace....

[Dienstbier] It is true that I should have been working in the boiler room on Sunday, but a colleague stood in for me, otherwise I would have been unable to take the oath before the president. Our Czechoslovak "gentle revolution" is proceeding at such a rate that I did not have time to give notice.

[Question] You swore an oath before President Gustav Husak, a man who kept you in prison for many years. What did you feel as you did so?

[Dienstbier] I never took it personally, so I did not experience any of the feelings that you are no doubt thinking of. President Husak swore in a new government, a government of national reconciliation, which is to create conditions for the holding of free elections. Thus Gustav prevented a governmental crisis from turning into a constitutional crisis. As he then submitted his resignation, I think he was aware of his own responsibility for the policies of the past 20 years and made a wise decision.

[Question] People in Prague say that it will be a difficult winter, because there will suddenly be a shortage of stokers and night watchmen.

[Dienstbier] Yes, it is funny to think that stokers and night watchmen are now becoming ministers, editors, and directors. However, ultimately it represents a return to normalcy, because for the past 20 years many talented people could not pursue their occupations for political reasons. These were the kinds of jobs that had to be accepted in order to survive.

However, we will not behave like the government that came to power in 1968 and destroyed all areas of public life in a relatively short period of time. We want to create a government of national reconciliation, and we do not intend to seek revenge or persecute anyone. This also applies to this ministry. We have a lot of specialists who now finally have an opportunity to demonstrate how useful they are.

[Question] Does this mean that you do not intend to make any personnel changes in the Czechoslovak foreign service?

[Dienstbier] I am expecting to make changes if only because the previous minister recalled about 30 ambassadors over the last few days and so new people will have to be appointed to these posts.

[Question] What criteria will you employ in taking on new people?

[Dienstbier] The political situation is such that people who hold a variety of views will work for us. However, this does not mean that we will be prepared to sacrifice competence to change the existing proportions between the forces represented in the ministry at whatever price.

[Question] At the moment it is no doubt difficult to ask you about a detailed program, but we think that in assuming this post you must have had your own concept of the work of the ministry....

[Dienstbier] I would like to work in the same spirit as when we were in opposition. The policy is one based on the Helsinki process and the defense of human rights. One can describe it as striving for a common European home or the road to uniting Europe.

[Question] How do you view the question of German unification?

[Dienstbier] I will answer your question speaking on my own behalf. In general, I think that no people can be hindered from determining its future by itself, but the German problem will naturally require a European consensus, because it is linked to the question of uniting our entire continent. I am imagine this second issue to be a process of gradually eliminating the significance of borders between states. However, I must resolutely state that Czechoslovakia will always demand guarantees of the security and inviolability of Poland's western borders.

[Question] Until recently, as a Charter 77 activist you held meetings in the Tatra mountains, on the Polish-Czechoslovak border, with what were members of our opposition at that time. Now many of the participants in those meetings find themselves in the power structures in both our countries....

[Dienstbier] I think that the friendship that was established years ago will now benefit both countries. Following the latest changes in Czechoslovakia, the situation is one in which we are both building democracy and this will increasingly aid our cooperation. I hope that we will soon reach full agreement on both ecological matters and a whole range of other issues. Besides, some problems are even grotesque. As far as ecology is concerned, we have to tell ourselves openly that all the criticism of the pollution of the environment was completely justified. We now have to proceed from words to deeds.

[Question] Does the ministry intend to make travel easier?

[Dienstbier] There are no longer any obstacles of a political kind. However, we still have to consider the other restrictions that limit freedom of travel. Premier Calfa said that we are waiting for all the Czechs and Slovaks living abroad. They can come as tourists for shorter or longer periods of time, or they can also return for good.

[Question] What will happen about those Czechs and Slovaks who have been stripped of their citizenship?

[Dienstbier] There is no doubt that all the decisions to strip people of their citizenship for political reasons must be immediately annulled.

[Question] You are a minister in a transitional government that can lead the country into free elections. Do you and many of your colleagues intend to return to your professions following the elections?

[Dienstbier] My profession is foreign policy, which I dealt with as a journalist and a commentator on international affairs. I hope that following the elections I will be able to return to journalism, which I simply like very much. However, if it should turn out that I can still be of some use, I would definitely remain in this post for as long as I am needed.

## Havel Closes Assembly Session 30 Dec

*LD2912195789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, today announced in his letter to the Federal Assembly Presidium, that according to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation he declares the Federal Assembly autumn session closed on 30 December of this year.

## Government Presidium Holds Session 27 Dec

*LD2712215489 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 27 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 27 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Government had a session here today which expressed agreement with the submitting of draft measures for the removal of negative phenomena in connection with the easing of tourism especially in relation with the neighbouring countries with convertible currency.

Besides regulations concerning the rate of exchange of the crown to other currencies, a legal regulation on the ban on the export and import of the Czechoslovak currency is to be ensured.

The government presidium dealt with the information of the minister of labour and social affairs of Czechoslovakia on granting material assistance to Romania. 56.5 tonnes of medicaments and medical material, five million pieces of eggs [as received] and 25 wagons with food and other material assistance have been sent to Romania in the past few days.

Further assistance will be organized in harmony with the needs of Romania by the Czechoslovak Red Cross.

## 21 Dec Government Session Reported

*AU2912133389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 pp 1, 8*

[CTK report: "Federal Government Held Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held a plenary session in Prague on Thursday [21 December]. In the opening part its chairman Marian Calfa reported on the course and the results of his brief visit to the USSR, where he discussed with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolay Ryzhkov issues connected with the intensification of mutual comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

At its session, the CSSR Government acquainted itself with the current developments in Romania and took a stand on them.

The federal government critically assessed the submitted analysis and the evaluation of the restructuring of the organizational system of the enterprise sphere and adopted—for a temporary period—rules on further action in that area. The purpose of this decision is to make it possible for founders [zakladatele] to take out as needed internal organizational units from the existing state enterprises and establish from them new state enterprises or, when necessary, make other changes in the organizational structures of the enterprise sphere. It adopted a conclusion on the need to speedily revise and submit the law on state enterprises for constitutional debate. Further, it took note of a report on the course of the first stage of the reorganizaion of the nonproduction sphere's structures by 1 January 1990.

The government established the CSSR Government's economic council as its coordinating, driving [iniciativni], and consultative body for the preparation and implementation of the state economic policy and—after a debate—approved its statutes. It appointed CSSR First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek as chairman of the economic council, and Jaroslav Vostatek as deputy minister-general secretary of the council. At the same time it abolished the government committee for questions of the planned management of the national economy, which was established in 1976.

After a debate, the federal government approved the draft of the GSSR Government's decree on regulatory payments in the sphere of wages. The purpose of these payments is, in particular, to ensure observance of the development of cost-derived wages in accordance with the binding targets of the state plan and influence the use of disposable profits so that organizations' allocation to a special compensation fund do not have inflationary character. The regulatory payments for exceeding wage and other personal expenditure are to ensure a strict prosecution of organizations in such a way as to make a possible acceleration of the development of cost-derived wages to the detriment of wages paid from the special compensation fund economically unprofitable for them.

At its meeting, the government also approved a draft constitutional law on changes in the system of the federal central bodies headed by a member of the CSSR Government. The essence of the envisaged change is—once more—the splitting of the existing Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications into the Federal Ministry of Transportation anf the Federal Ministry of Communications. Experience shows that the differing technical-technological nature of the transportation and communications, and their national economic functions, require that the two branches are to be managed separately; with the exception of increasing the saving of staffers at the ministry itself, the solution adopted in 1988 had no effect in other areas.

The government discussed a proposal for resuming Czechoslovakia's membership in the IMF and the IBRD. It agreed that an official request for the CSSR to join the two institutions should be submitted by 15 January 1990 at the latest, and adopted measures to ensure all prerequisites and conditions necessary for membership.

The topicality of the resumption of Czechoslovakia's membership in the world financial and currency institutions, particularly in the IMF and the World Bank, arises from the implementation of the profound economic and political reforms in Czechoslovak society, from the need to comprehensively open itself up to the world, and from the CSSR's becoming more deeply involved in the international division of labor.

The membership in the two institutions should contribute in a number of respects to CSSR's further economic development.

During its session the federal government assessed and took note of the economic substantiation of a proposal to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea, and entrusted the minister of foreign affairs with the task of initiating talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea.

In the interest of deepening social justice as regards security in old age, the government also discussed the issue of personal pensions still paid to former constitutional officials and other, for the most part ranking and managing workers of state bodies of various levels and the economic sphere, as well as to political and equal-ranking workers of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. It abolished the directive on granting personal pensions and, effective immediately, halted the further granting of them. Beginning with February, the maximum personal pension will be Kcs3,800. Further, it decided as of the same date to stop all allowances to pensions which were granted in accordance with the Package of Social Measures in CPCZ Bodies and Institutions. The government charged the minister of labor and social affairs with the task of submitting by 30 April 1990 proposals for the complete reassessment of the system of and of individual personal pensions, and a draft law amending the health and old age security and other entitlements of constitutional officials.

The government also adopted measures aimed at protecting the domestic market, especially regarding exports of foodstuffs by foreigners, and at preventing unlawful exports of Czechoslovak currency. The appropriate customs bodies will work out details and provide information.

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Alojz Lorenc, CSSR first deputy minister of the interior, and Otto Sedlak, CSSR deputy minister of the interior, requested to be released from their posts.

The CSSR Government complied with these requests at its session, and recalled them from their posts. At the same time, the CSSR Government appointed Ivan Prusa CSSR first deputy minister of the interior.

## Federal Assembly Statement, Resignations

*AU2812212189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 1*

[Report by Zdenek Hoffmann, Marie Koenigova, Daniela Mannova, and Miloslav Vltavsky: "CSSR Federal Assembly Convened; Presidential Elections To Be Held on 29 December; Main Principles of the Government's Policy Statement Presented by Marian Calfa; The New Government Goals: To Maintain Living Standards, Pursue Anti-Inflation Policy, Achieve Full Effective Employment, and Develop Social Guarantees; Events in the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Excerpts] Prague (by our reporters)—The young people assembled near the Parliament building prior to the opening of the 18th session of the CSSR Federal Assembly on Tuesday [19 December] welcomed the deputies with flowers, bread and salt, smiles, brass band music, and calls of "Vote for Havel!" [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of its session the Federal Assembly adopted a declaration, stating:

"The Federal Assembly Chambers of the People and of Nations received with profound indignation the report about the brutal actions undertaken a few days ago, and also now, against the Romanian citizens who are making use of their inalienable right to assemble. In this the Chambers proceed, in particular, from the immeasurable consequences to which these actions have led in terms of human lives. The CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers of the People and of Nations therefore emphatically request the CSSR Government to speedily draw the appropriate conclusions from the situation and to submit a report at the next joint session of the two Chambers. [no closing quotes as published] [passage omitted]

The Presidiums of the two Chambers also convened. The Presidium of the Chamber of the People discussed the resignation of the following deputies to this Chamber: Alois Indra, Jan Zelenka, Vladimir Herman, Vladimir Hajek, Emil Rigo, and Jaroslava Simunkova. In keeping with Article 9, paragraph 2 of the law on deputies to the Chamber of the People, their mandate as deputies expired on 19 December. The Presidium of the Chamber of Nations took note of the resignations and the expiration of the mandates of the following deputies to this Chamber: Josef Haman, Marie Kabrhelova, and Gejza Slapka. [passage omitted]

### Stepan in Custody for Misuse of Power

*AU0201141390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 1*

["is"-signed report: "M. Stepan in Custody"]

[Text] Prague (Our reporter)—Miroslav Stepan has been accused of planning the criminal deed of the misuse of powers by a public official according to Article 7, paragraph 1 of the Penal Law and Article 158, paragraphs 1/b, 2/c of the Penal Law. We have acquired this information from Miroslav Kokes of the Office of the Prosecutor General of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR].

M. Stepan, former member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, has been in custody since 23 December, and a special group of the Office of the CSR Prosecutor General investigates his activity in connection with the events in Prague on 17 November this year. He is accused of planning the punishable offense of the misuse of powers by a public official, and was detained under Article 67, letter a) of the Penal Code (He was detained because it was believed that M. Stepan, in view of the threat of severe punishment, could escape or hide, and thus avoid punishment).

M. Kokes informed us further that M. Stepan while under custody lodged a complaint which was handed over with the records on investigation to the city court in Prague for a decision.

The special investigation group continues to investigate.

### CPCZ Staffers Suggest Change in Party Name

*AU1812174589*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 December on page 3 carries a 1,400-word article by Josef Buk and Jiri Michalec, staffers of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, entitled "At Issue Is a New Concept of Unity." In the article, the authors express their reservations about the party's "draft action program" that is to be discussed and approved at the forthcoming extraordinary CPCZ congress because, as they note, "the draft contains certain residues of old cliches and undesirable compromises." They criticize the fact, for example, that the draft defines the party's ideological platform as "Marxism-Leninism devoid of dogmatic sediment," pointing out that this term has been used as a "magic formula" by the Jakes leadership and is therefore discredited. They suggest that the "ideological sources of the party be defined in a much broader way," to include also "other sources of inspiration of socialist thought." In another part of their article, Buk and Michalec propose that the action program contain the formulation about this party's "transformation into a modern left-wing party." In this connection they suggest that the party discuss a change of its name "so that the name expresses the party's essence at the turning point of the second and third millenniums." Buk and Michalec also propose that the party's program "might" bear the title "For Socialism With a Human Face," to express continuity between the present efforts and the attempts at renewal in 1968.

### Students End Strike, Maintain Committees

*LD2912171589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on Havel's election] In connection with the election of the new Czechoslovak president, Martin Mejstrik, member of the national students' strike coordinating committee has announced that the university strike has been terminated.

Talking to a CTK correspondent, he stated that the universities will go over to a state of strike alert, and the structure of the strike committees and liaison between them will be maintained. The individual commissions dealing with specific problems will continue to function.

### Foreign Ministry Approves Travel to Romania

*LD3012202389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs regards it as possible for Czechoslovak employees who are currently outside Romanian territory to travel to Romania. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued this announcement in connection with the gradual calming of the situation in Romania.

### Foreign Minister Briefing Prior to USSR Visit

*LD1712220589 Prague CTK in English 2110 GMT 17 Dec 89*

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed today that Soviet and Czechoslovak foreign policies at present agree in opinions on building a European home.

At a meeting with representatives of the government, political forces and civic initiatives, Minister Dienstbier said that his visit to Moscow next week together with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa is expected to contribute to the solution of questions related to the presence of Soviet troops in this country. An agreement on the withdrawal of troops and specific conditions of their departure is currently being prepared.

The meeting dealt mainly with Slovakia's contribution to and participation in Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, and the selection and training of future diplomats.

### Calfa, Dienstbier Interview After Moscow Visit

*LD2012230489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 20 Dec 89*

Report on interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, upon return from their working visit to Moscow, in VIP lounge at Ruzyne Airport in Prague—date not given

[Text] [Announcer] Shortly before 1800 Federal Premier Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, who were returning from their working visit to Moscow, briefed the press in the VIP lounge at Ruzyne Airport in Prague. Our correspondents were at the briefing. Here is their report:

[Begin recording] [Calfa in Slovak] A few minutes ago we returned from our visit to Moscow. It was a working meeting, we left this morning, and as I have just said, we returned just a few moments ago. The foreign minister and I were received in Moscow together with our colleagues by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. We discussed many issues. Nikolay Ryzhkov told us how the very tiring congress of the soviets [as heard] was going. He told us about the issues it is discussing, especially in the economic sphere. He also told us about some fundamental issues of the internal political situation. We, of course, spoke about our internal political situation, about the activity of the government which is operating on new principles, on the principles of what I would call consensus, or understanding.

After this exchange of information, we moved on to some questions of bilateral economic relations; we exchanged views on the activity of CEMA for the coming period, and we agreed unambiguously that the existing forms and methods of its work as well as the order of activity in CEMA must be abandoned because they are outdated. Since we voiced the opinion that we are opening up to the world, it is therefore necessary to move on from the rather regional introspection of CEMA toward making it into an open economic mechanism that is advantageous for all the states involved in its activity.

Then we exchanged views on issues of mutual accounting, and here we agreed that there are still a lot of things to be worked out. Commissions are to be set up to work on this so that we can exchange views on the commodities and timeframes for converting our trade to world prices and accounting in freely convertible currencies.

After that, the foreign minister met his counterpart, Minister Shevardnadze, and he can tell you about that. I was then received by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Gorbachev. He took a very lively interest in our internal political situation, and in the government's new methods and forms of work.

I must say that in both sets of talks we also broached the subject of 1968 and the activity of the commission of historians, which has already been mentioned in our media, and we also exchanged views on the question of the Soviet troops in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the basis of the treaty for the presence of these troops here.

Overall I would like to assess this as a truly working visit, and one that was truly useful for both sides. We needed to exchange views because the situation in our country has, in a short time, changed greatly from what we remember before. Both the statesmen were interested in this situation and I believe that we managed to give them a definite objective view of the activity of the government and of the processes under way in Czechoslovakia.

[Dienstbier] I would perhaps only add that we had about an hour of talks with Mr Shevardnadze on many different aspects of international relations. We spent quite a lot of time discussing the issue of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia and we agreed that in the first half of January, a joint Czechoslovak-Soviet commission would begin to work on the question of the Soviet troops in Czechsolovakia, and I think that the work of that commssion will have positive results.

[Moderator] Has anyone any questions?

[Unidentified journalist, in Slovak] I have a question for the foreign minister: Will that commission be made up of both civilian and military experts?

[Dienstbier] Yes, the commission will be made up of both civilian and military experts, and it will discuss all the political, military, economic, and also pschological aspects of the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

[Milous] I am Milous from SVET V OBRAZECH. Comrade Premier, when the treaty was signed on the temporary stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, it was said in Prague that the notion temporary could be understood as infinity minus 1 day. Can you specify today what the word temporary means in terms of time, on the basis of your talks in Moscow?

[Calfa] On the basis of our talks on Moscow, no I cannot yet, but I must say, however, that both statesmen expressed great understanding on this question. They have a positive approach to it. I personally think that we will get results in this sphere, and results which our people will welcome. At the same time, however, we told one another that this question is not solely one of bilateral relations, but also one of building on the results of the European disarmament process.

[Moderator] (Neuzil) from PRACE, your question?

[PRACE journalist] Mr Premier, we have a considerable trade surplus with the Soviet Union. Did you discuss in specific terms how the trade balance could be evened out in the near future at any stage?

[Calfa] Although that question came up in passing, it is very important, because the Soviet proposal to shift to freely convertible currencies and to world prices in mutual accounting would put the question of our trade balance in a completely different light. We will therefore have to deal with this issue really comprehensively in different stages, and only then will it be possible to be specific about what this is going to mean in mutual financial relations.

[PRACE journalist] Can you tell us whether this is going to be within 1 year, within in 5 years, before the end of the next 5-year plan. Can you give us any approximate time?

[Calfa] On 9-10 January, unless there is any change, the CEMA is to meet to deal with this problem on a multilateral basis, and on the results of that session, we will then set out specific stages for further progress.

[Sestak] I am Sestak from Czechoslovak Radio. Mr Premier, according to information from Moscow, your talk with Mikhail Gorbachev was a private one with only the interpreters present. Can you tell us something more about that meeting?

[Calfa] Mikhail Gorbachev received me during the recess in the Congress of the Soviets. We spoke for an hour. He was very interested about the events in Czechoslovakia and their nature. He has a certain amount of information about these events, and he asked further questions, and in essence he was truly interested in everything—the activity of the government, its composition, the mechanism by which agreement is reached, the relations between the government and the Federal Assembly, the progress of the political negotiations on forming the government; in other words all the new features in our current political life. That was one range of issues discussed.

On the other hand, Mikhail Gorbachev explained certain processes in the Soviet Union, above all the economic situation in the Soviet Union. He complained that he was being attacked, so to speak, from both extreme positions, that is to say both from the right and left, and that they are trying to keep the economic processes really under control. He also admitted that there were certain possibilities for further progress in economic reform, especially in respect of extending individual business activity, and so forth, so that was the range of issues currently relevant to Soviet society being discussed at the Congress of the Soviets.

[Moderator] Television, you have a question?

[Unidentified television journalist] Mr Minister, in addition to issues of the presence of Soviet troops on our territory, did you and your colleague discuss other ranges of questions?

[Dienstbier] We spoke in general about European relations, our relations, for the time being on a very general level, because in the very near future we will meet for longer talks where we will discuss these problems individually. I would like to add that after these talks I visited Mrs Yelena Bonner, the widow of the recently deceased Academician Sakharov, and I thanked her on behalf of all of us for the very friendly way in which Arademician Sakharov and she had behaved toward Czechoslovakia when in 1968 they denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and also with respect to Charter 77 and throughout that 20-year period.

[Moderator] Another question please?

[Doubrava] I am Doubrava, from MLADA FRONTA. I know that you were discussing primarily bilateral issues, but nonetheless did any of your talks touch upon the issue of Romania and the latest events there?

[Dienstbier] We did not speak about that directly, because we did not have time to discuss these things in detail. They will be discussed later.

[Moderator] The last question for the premier?

[Janoska] I am Janoska from PRACE. Mr Minister, at last week's news conference General Vacek, the minister of national defense, made the point that the Vienna talks were considering deploying a contingent of 250,000-350,000 troops, both from the Warsaw Pact and NATO, practically in central Europe. I would be interested to hear your view on this.

[Dienstbier] I think these are all preliminary matters, they are just one of many ideas of all kinds, and whether all these things happen will hinge on the results of the talks. My feelings from today's talks with the Soviet officials is that there is a will here to reduce military forces as far as possible. [end recording]

## Reshuffle in Slovak USSR Friendship Society

*AU1912160789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Dec 89 p 2*

[Excerpt] Bratislava (ol)—The Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society [SUV SCSSP] held an extraordinary session in Bratislava yesterday [15 December], which addressed the present domestic political situation and elected a new chairman and deputy chairman of the SUV SCSSP. The plenum elected Jozef Mravik, until now leading secretary of this social organization, as paid chairman. Jozef Sadecky, member of the SUV SCSSP, became new deputy chairman, replacing Jaroslav Hlinicky, who resigned from that post of his own will. Vladimir Cerevka, Vladimir Margetin, Augustin Cisar, and Viliam Salgovic did the same. The post of SUV SCSSP leading secretary was abolished. [passage omitted]

### Change in Gabcikovo Hydroworks Design Proposed

*AU2912210589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Dec 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Influence of Hydroprojects on Ecology"]

[Text] Prague—Until recently, the construction of water reservoirs used to be almost universally supported not only by experts and ranking bodies, but also by the public. It is true that the development of our national economy and the supply of drinking water to cities and villages would be impossible without the great majority of the reservoirs constructed. The overwhelming majority of hydroprojects are architectonically agreeable, blending in with the landscape. However, not all reservoirs can be assessed positively, and one has to learn from errors and shortcomings.

As arises from "The State and Development of the Environment in Czechoslovakia" compiled by the Ecological Section of the Czechoslovak Biological Society attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Novomlynske reservoirs in southern Moravia are a telling example of a lack of a comprehensive solution and an underestimation of ecological aspects, and we also draw a lesson from numerous multipurpose reservoirs, such as Nechranice, Skalka, Jesenice na Ohri, Rozkos in the upper part of the River Labe, and others, the capacity of which will be hardly 50-percent used in the long run.

The aforementioned material states that if, at the time the decisions were made about the construction of the system of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroworks on the Danube, the ecological knowledge and experience had had the weight that is accorded them nowadays, they would most probably not have been built, or an ecologically much more natural river variant without an artificial derivation [derivacni] channel would be built. Even though in their present form these hydroprojects are to protect the Danubian lowlands against floods, and improve the navigability of the Danube and the conditions for agriculture and electricity generation, it is also impossible to underestimate the potentially negative consequences of the construction and operation of the system, among them especially the direct impairment or even complete destruction of the great part of the ecosystems in the almost 200 km long section of the Danube and in the basin of its tributaries, or substantial changes in the country's water regimen, connected in some regions with drying up and in others with waterlogging. Thus, many potential contributions of this system will probably be downgraded by its negative consequences.

Therefore—in view of the extent of the construction work already carried out on the two hydroprojects—it would be useful to seek a compromise solution, the basis of which would be the conversion of the Gabcikovo power plant to an inflow [pritokovy] regimen. This would make it possible to substantially reduce the height of the Nagymaros section and thus also shorten its swelling to 30-40 km, compared with the planned 110 km, and at the same time minimalize ecological and other damage, while preserving the advantages connected with improved navigation conditions and the generation of electricity.

### Havel Departs for GDR, FRG 2 Jan

*LD0201082290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, has left by air for a visit to the German Democratic Republic to which he was invited by Manfred Gerlach, the acting chairman of the GDR's State Council. In the afternoon Vaclav Havel is to visit the FRG at the invitation of President Richard von Weizsaecker.

The president of the republic is accompanied by Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and other officials.

### Portuguese President Arrives for Visit 28 Dec

*LD2812184389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Portuguese President Mario Soares arrived in Czechoslovakia today on a several-day private visit, at the invitation of Civic Forum. Mario Soares, his daughter Isabel, and the members of their party were welcomed at Ruzyne Airport in Prague by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and representatives of the Civic Forum coordinating center.

#### Holds Closed Meeting With Dubcek

*LD2912221689 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)—Visiting Portuguese President Mario Soares met here Friday with representatives of the coordination students' strike committee.

The STUDENTS' PRESS AGENCY (SPA) reported today that the Portuguese president expressed great interest in providing scholarships for Czechoslovak students at Portuguese universities.

Mario Soares met with students of the Charles University philosophical faculty later today and was received by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek in the evening.

According to SPA, the meeting took place behind the closed door.

### Attends Wreath-Laying With Leaders

*LD3012142589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and Portuguese President Mario Soares, who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia, laid wreaths at the statue of St Wenceslas today. The reason for this solemn ceremony was to commemorate the past 5 weeks in Czechoslovakia and to express solidarity with the students and with all those who were persecuted in the past few years.

## Australian Foreign Minister Ends Visit, Departs

*AU2812182589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 8*

[CTK report: "Australian Guest Received By M. Calfa"]

[Excerpts] Prague—CSSR Premier Marian Calfa received Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce Gareth John Evans in Prague on Thursday [21 December] [passage omitted]

G. J. Evans met with journalists on the same day. He noted with satisfaction that all talks with Czechoslovak representatives were conducted in a friendly atmosphere and marked by an effort to reach concrete conclusions.

Asked how many Czechoslovaks live in Australia and what is their status, Evans said that Australia is currently the home to about 25,000 persons born in Czechoslovakia, and if one would also count the persons of the Czech and Slovak origin, which already were born on the fifth continent, their number could be possibly something like 50,000. During my meeting with Premier Calfa, G. J. Evans said, I was asked to convey to the Czechoslovak citizens in our country cordial greetings and let them know that the doors to Czechoslovakia are open to them, be it to return permamently or just to renew friendly relations with their fatherland.

Asked about granting visas, Minister Evans said that there is a great interest in the world about visiting his country, and therefore the Australian authorities would not want someone else to "jump" the long queue of those who are waiting with equal rights.

The Australian minister departed from the CSSR on Thursday.

## Visa Abolition Proposal Conveyed to Vienna

*LD0612215389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 6 Dec 89*

[Text] The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs conveyed to the Austrian side the Czechoslovak proposal on concluding an agreement on universal abolition of visa duty for citizens of the two states as an expression of developments achieved in good-neighborly relations and a contribution to the building of a common European home. The proposal represents Czechoslovakia's next step toward implementing the obligations proceeding from the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

### Soviet Gravestones in Gera Damaged 31 Dec

*LD0101112690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1059 GMT 1 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—Unknown persons damaged numerous gravestones in the Soviet memorial grove in Gera on Sunday [31 December] night, despite the fact that the People's Police carried out preventative checks late last night. A police patrol discovered the damage in the early hours of 1 January.

Police investigations have so far shown that at least two culprits kicked off the Soviet stars of 34 gravestones and toppled 5 gravestones. [passage omitted]

### Berliners Protest Anti-Sovietism, Neofascism

*LD3012175889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon, more than 2,000 Berliners protested in front of the statue of the grieving "Mother Homeland," in front of the monument to the fallen Soviet soldiers in Berlin-Treptow, against anti-Soviet and nationalist graffiti, and they warned against right-wing radicalism in the GDR. A message to Mikhail Gorbachev, which participants at the event agreed upon, says that the atrocity of disparaging the memorial was not identical with the thoughts and feelings toward the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the future, the friendship and the alliance with the USSR would be protected and developed. [passage omitted]

### Apology to USSR for 27 Dec Monument Desecration

*LD2912144689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1402 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has expressed its regret and concern and has apologized to the Soviet Union for the sullying of the memorial to the members of the Soviet Army killed in the liberation of Berlin. The monument in Treptow Park was sullied with anti-Soviet slogans on Wednesday [27 December] night by unknown persons.

On behalf of the government, Dr Herbet Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, met Soviet ambassador Vyatcheslav Kochemasov and expressed the GDR Government's regret and concern. He also apologized to the USSR citizens.

He was convinced that all democratically-minded people in the GDR condemned this deplorable act of vandalism most strongly.

The minister affirmed that the strengthening and deepening of the friendly relations and alliance with the USSR, as emphasized in the 17 November government statement, would remain a priority task of future GDR policy. The government was determined to do all in its power to prevent neo-Nazi and nationalistic activities. It would preserve the honored memory of the 20 million Soviet people who gave their lives to free the German people from Nazi tyranny, as well as that of all those who struggled against fascism and war.

### CSSR's Havel Arrives for 1-Day Visit

*LD0201084190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0812 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—CSSR President Vaclav Havel arrived in the GDR this morning on a 1-day visit. It is Havel's first foreign visit since his election on Friday to the highest state office in the CSSR.

The president, who is accompanied by government leader Marian Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, was welcomed at Berlin- Schoenefeld Airport by acting GDR State Council Chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

This morning Vaclav Havel will meet Prof Gerlach for a private talk. There are also plans for talks between the two government leaders and between the two foreign ministers. In the course of his brief visit, Havel will answer questions from the international press in Berlin.

### Gerlach Receives Havel

*LD0201110490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0940 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the beginning of their meeting at the GDR State Council in Berlin this morning, acting GDR head of state Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach congratulated CSSR President Vaclav Havel on his election. He described it as high recognition of Havel's personality, his political work, and his struggle for freedom and democracy. At the same time, Gerlach said in the first round of talks at the State Council building in Berlin that this election was high recognition of the work of the Civic Forum, which Havel co-founded and co-led.

Vaclav Havel expressed profound gratitude for this acknowledgement and recalled the fact that, long before his election, it had been Manfred Gerlach who had visited the Civic Forum in Prague. This visit was of high symbolic value for himself and for his comrades-in-arms.

### Gerlach, Havel News Conference

*LD0201111190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Leading GDR and CSSR politicians met numerous journalists in Berlin following their first round of talks on Tuesday [2 January]. The meetings between heads of state Gerlach and Havel, government heads Modrow and Calfa, and Foreign Ministers Fischer and Dienstbier were characterized by a very friendly, open atmosphere, Modrow said. "We assume that deep democratic changes have taken place in both countries and that we will meet again soon in 1990." Both economic cooperation and joint foreign policy action under the conditions of the joint responsibility for the European house will be discussed and relevant decisions will be taken.

In response to the question on the significance of the fact that he has made his first foreign visit to the GDR, Havel noted that there are many reasons for this. He wished to stress that Manfred Gerlach was the first foreign head of state to visit him about 14 days ago when he was still a simple citizen. A series of important questions were discussed then and it was therefore important to continue the discussions in Berlin. Havel added that it was his wish to go to the Berlin Wall.

In the course of the day, an extensive news conference is on the agenda at the end of the CSSR president's visit to the GDR.

### Joint Statement

*LD0201114890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The joint statement conveyed to ADN has the following text:

CSSR President Vaclav Havel visited the GDR on 2 January 1990 at the invitation of the presiding chairman of the GDR State Council, Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach. The chairmen of the governments of the GDR and the CSSR, Hans Modrow and Marian Calfa, also met on this occasion.

During the exchange of views, the traditionally high level of relations between both friendly neighboring countries was underscored. It was stressed that both sides accord extraordinary importance to the development of bilateral relations.

The democratic reform processes in both countries provide new impulses for the extension and consolidation of mutual cooperation.

The interlocutors affirmed that the GDR and the CSSR are acting out of their responsibility for peace and security for the creation of a European house in which all people coexist in freedom and without mistrust. Security and cooperation should be based on the principle that the stability of the borders in Europe is the guarantee of mutual trust. President Havel noted with great attention in this connection Premier Hans Modrow's idea of a treaty-based community between the two German states.

Manfred Gerlach and Vaclav Havel supported the proposal to convene a summit meeting of the CSCE states this year. The year 1990 should bring substantial advances in the area of disarmament.

During the stay of the CSSR delegation in Berlin, there was also a first meeting between the foreign ministers of both states, Oskar Fischer and Juri Dienstbier.

At the conclusion of his visit, CSSR President Vaclav Havel invited the chairman of the GDR State Council to visit the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

## 28 Checkpoints Open Temporarily for Holiday

*AU3012155089 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] A new border checkpoint was opened this morning between Hirschberg, in the GDR's Gera Bezirk, and the Bavarian village of Untertiefengruen. According to the Bavarian Border Police, this checkpoint is only open to pedestrians. Another checkpoint is to be opened on 2 January for regular buses, coaches, and taxis between the villages of Gartendorf and Gassenreuth in the Vogtland area.

To give communities near the border the possibility to celebrate the new year together, the GDR will temporarily open a total of 28 special border checkpoints on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day.

## Fischer Says European Division Must Be Overcome

*LD3012092289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0659 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The division of Europe must and can be overcome. This is the opinion of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. At the same time, he opposes in this connection the removal of the differing social orders.

Among the main areas of GDR foreign policy is, first and foremost, the creation of cross-system structures of cooperative society, Fischer said today in an interview with the GDR radio station "Radio Berlin International." The formation of a pan-European economic space and scientific-technical cooperation would play an ever greater role in Europe.

According to the foreign minister, the GDR believes that relations with the FRG should be shaped as a new partnership for Europe. The treaty-based community proposed by the Modrow government presupposes that it is possible and necessary to work together for peace, disarmament, and confidence-building in Europe, and to nurture an effective cooperation, for example, in the areas of economy, environmental protection, the humanitarian sector, and the political sphere. The meeting between Premier Modrow and Federal Chancellor Kohl in Dresden produced tangible results in this respect. Both sides will thereby shoulder their responsibility toward their own people and to the peoples of Europe.

"The main question in all this is, and remains, that of disarmament," the foreign minister said. Fischer described the main priority for the coming year, in addition to concluding an initial treaty at the Vienna negotiations, as a convention on preventing chemical weapons, and an agreement on the 50 percent reduction in strategic-offensive weapons. There are grounds for hope that considerably fewer soldiers and weapons of all kinds will exist by the end of 1990.

Fischer added that all efforts must now be devoted to making the military function of the Warsaw Pact and NATO a more political one. Then the dissolution of the two alliances is the logical result. There can be no unilateral dissolution, however, since this would have a destablizing effect. The GDR foreign minister refused forecast any date for their dissolution.

Fischer referred to the fact that the Warsaw Pact proposed last summar that the military side of this alliance be increasingly reduced in favor of political activity. He hopes that such a view has also been reached in the NATO alliance countries. This implies distancing themselves from doctrines such as nuclear deterrence. It is cooperation, not deterrence, that is, needed.

Since Gorbachev's Helsinki II proposal affects the areas with the highest concentration of troops and weapons in Europe, it is supported by the GDR. Helsinki II would be the appropriate way to give the world a signal of hope and cooperation, which Europe is able and also obliged to do.

## Modrow Discusses Hopes, Expectations for Year

*LD3012095889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0313 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"If I wish first and foremost for a peaceful year, it is not a hackneyed phrase, but a wish from the heart." GDR Prime MInister Hans Modrow stresses this today in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, in response in questions from journalists on his expectations, hopes, and wishes for 1990. "There can be nothing without peace! This also applies to external pace, for there are some dangerous hotbeds of tension in the world. I am thinking here of Romania, but also of Panama—quite different situations, but both of which show the extent to which peace, respect for international law, and for human rights helping together. I am very pleased that the Romanians have overthrown the dictator and have taken their history into their own hands."

With reference to the GDR he has, as prime minister, quite definite expectations for the new decade. "The watchword must always remain 'No violence!' political conflicts can only be settled by peaceful means. We should not forget the election deadline in this respect. Free elections can be prepared and held only in peace and with calm. It is just as important for me that our economy functions, and functions better than in 1989. I would even go so far as to say that the greater the economic problems, the worse the climate for elections—there is a direct connection here. A whole series of factors are of an objective nature and are related to poor material conditions." The government is concentrating on improving these conditions, and hopes to accelerate as much as possible the FRG's support for this.

He also hopes for the new year that there will be no fresh injustice in the GDR and "that there is [as received] discrimination against citizens simply because they worked in the Socialist Unity of Germany party apparatus or in state offices. Everyone has the right to work. I ask the members of all parties and political groups to help to ensure that civil rights are respected without exception."

## CDU Press Spokesman Resigns

*LD0201100490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0928 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Karl Hennig, member of the Presidium of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Party Executive, has asked to be immediately recalled as party press spokesman. Hennig, who took over this post on 22 November 1989, stated in a communique to CDU Chairman De Maiziere that he found himself increasing in disagreement with inner-party developments that have set in since the extraordinary party congress.

## Gysi Discusses Use of Spies, Security Forces

*PM2912160089 Paris LE FIGARO in French 28 Dec 89 p 8*

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, leader of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, by Jean-Paul Picaper—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: Your father reportedly took part in the resistance to the Third Reich. But I found his name in the 1943 Berlin telephone directory.

Gregor Gysi: That was my grandfather, who was a doctor in Berlin-Nikolassee. My father, Klaus Gysi, went to France in 1936 or 1938. At the beginning of the war he was interned in the south of France as a German subject, as was my mother. That saved their lives because the Nazis would have sent them to their deaths. According to Nazi laws, my father was half Jewish. His mother, my grandmother Erna Gysi, was Jewish. She had to hide in France. She remained in Paris until her death after the war. Paris had become her second home. I therefore owe my birth to France because, without your country, my parents would not have survived the Third Reich.

My parents were then sent to Germany with forged papers supplied by French communist comrades to take part in the German resistance. In retrospect, we can realize that what the party demanded was madness.

LE FIGARO: Your father survived. Did the Americans not appoint him mayor of a district in Berlin in 1945?

Gregor Gysi: He was appointed deputy mayor of Berlin-Zehlendorf, responsible for matters of law and order and security. That was certainly a bad choice....

LE FIGARO: I suppose that it was not your family's style. Have you not just dissolved the State Security forces—the Stasi?

Gregor Gysi: Yes, but I specified that there are important and legitimate tasks in this sphere for which new bodies must be created.

LE FIGARO: Does this mean that you intend to continue to send spies to the FRG and France?

Gregor Gysi: To the FRG. France does not interest me. And I will only do so to avoid nasty surprises. Moreover, I am proposing the mutual disbanding of the intelligence services to the West Germans.

LE FIGARO: Is this disarmament applied to espionage?

Gregor Gysi: In my speech to the party congress, I said that we will need general intelligence to protect us from crimes against the state, terrorism, anti-Semitism, and neo-Nazism, and that we need an espionage service to protect us from nasty surprises, be they military, political, or economic.

I added that my party does not want to maintain such services at all costs and that we would agree to abandon them if we managed to reach agreement with the West on eliminating them. But as long as they exist at world level, we cannot abandon them. That is my viewpoint.

In the past, this sector also had the job of preventing what was described as "ideological deviation." That meant that we had to be present in every family that received television programs which contained "ideological deviation." We had to be omnipresent. The people rebelled against that surveillance. That is why I said: We intend to disband it and create new structures, much smaller and only active in the spheres that I mentioned before. The State Security forces have been disbanded. The People's Chamber will abolish the law on political crimes at its next session.

LE FIGARO: Enterprises in your country are refusing to hire former collaborators of the State Security forces. What will you do with them?

Gregor Gysi: I condemn this attitude. It is antisocial. It is inhuman. Those people only did what they were told to do. They did not choose the nature of their activity. It was a decision by the party and state leadership. Furthermore, it would be dangerous to do that because it would create potential adversaries and I do not know of anybody who would like that to happen. The church has just offered its help in finding them new jobs.

LE FIGARO: What will you do with the permanent members of the party's central apparatus who are now unemployed? Are there not several hundred thousand of them?

Gregor Gysi: No, no, are you talking about full-time civil servants?

LE FIGARO: Let us say around 50,000?

Gregor Gysi: Some 40,000.

LE FIGARO: How will you pay them if you become just another party?

Gregor Gysi: We need staff, but not as many as now. We will have to restructure the party and reduce the number of permanent staff. I have promised them that this will be done in a way that takes account of the social aspect. We have adopted the appropriate regulations. I have considered financial solutions but I will not tell you what they are.

LE FIGARO: At all events, will you refrain from using the money of Schalck-Golodowski, the party's big financier who acted outside the law to some extent?

Gregor Gysi: His money was never ours. With a few exceptions, that money was part of the state budget.

LE FIGARO: Will you continue to clear out corrupt elements in the party's and state's central apparatus?

Gregor Gysi: Naturally.

LE FIGARO: Mr Mittag, former party chief for economic questions, has just been accused of high treason. What does that mean?

Gregor Gysi: I certainly do not want to interfere with the inquiry. That is a matter for the courts and it is not my responsibility. I am not sure that everything is being done correctly from the moral viewpoint. We must not go too far with demagoguery. This is particularly true when the defendants are more than 80 years old.

On the other hand, I am responsible for party discipline and I will take the necessary measures if they are justified. My party is following up violations of the rules and handing the files to the state bodies when those concerned have broken the law. We must understand that we are not a party with a monopoly but a workers' party. In a party that has a monopoly of power, it is possible that some lifestyles do not shock anybody. That is not the case in a workers' party. The party must rise above any inconsistency between reality and appearances.

LE FIGARO: In what way are you different from a social democratic party, because you have eliminated the Politburo, the Central Committee, bureaucratic centralism, censorship, and the secret police?

Gregor Gysi: We respect the importance that the social democrats attach to democracy and reforms. We do not like their inconsistency and their credulity toward parties with a monopoly and right-wing forces, or their anti-communism.

In our party I have created structures to ensure that nobody will ever have sole power. I am not general secretary but chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS]. We have eliminated the title of general secretary that had an authoritarian ring about it to prove that we intend to establish a grass-roots democracy. And I will not stay in office indefinitely. Our party's rules will limit the duration of office. In the past I have greatly enjoyed my profession as a lawyer, and my colleagues will be happy to see me return to the bar.

There is virtually no member of the former leadership who has remained. The members of the new leadership do not come from the apparatus but from society. The party's leadership role has been eliminated from the Constitution.

LE FIGARO: Is your party still losing members?

Gregor Gysi: Yes and no. We are losing members and recruiting new ones.

LE FIGARO: Are they people from the left?

Gregor Gysi: No, democrats. Some of them are people who have never belonged to a party, some of them are former members who left us out of disappointment and who are returning because they are convinced that they can cooperate with the new leadership. I am also receiving numerous letters from Christians expressing their confidence, although they are not in our party. I also receive thousands of letters from citizens in the FRG and West Berlin.

LE FIGARO: Your father was regarded as a liberal man in the party. You yourself have defended dissidents in the courts. Rudolf Bahro, for instance.

Gregor Gysi: I defended Havemann too, and members of New Forum.

LE FIGARO: Do you believe that this will earn you votes in the 6 May elections? They were intellectuals.

Gregor Gysi: Definitely. But even though I am an attorney, I have never had any difficulties in my contacts with workers. One of my first initiatives was to visit the large industrial complex at Eisenhuettenstadt to talk with the workers, without delivering a speech to them. We are a workers' party. However, we must regain the intellectuals' confidence. I must counter the anti-intellectualism that prevails within the party.

As for the date of the elections, it is only a proposal of the (government-opposition) roundtable. The People's Chamber has not yet made it law and the State Council has not yet convened the electorate. I favor 6 May, but an even earlier date would suit me as well.

LE FIGARO: You have a rival in the East German Social Democratic Party, the SDP—or the SPD, as it is already called in some places.

Gregor Gysi: I very much doubt it. I may be a poor judge, but I do know one major city in the GDR where that party has only 200 members. They may have more importance seen from abroad than they do seen from within the GDR. Without wanting to give advice, permit me to point out that my party's history has shown that when people have tried to establish parties in other countries it has not worked. It must come from within. Organizing something from abroad is very expensive and unproductive.

LE FIGARO: The West German SPD would like to see you abandon the handshake between socialists and communists featured in your party's symbol. Many former socialists were expelled or imprisoned or even perished during the Stalinist period.

Gregor Gysi: I do not tell the SPD what to do and I do not accept its telling me what to do. Furthermore, perhaps the time has come to form an alliance between communists and socialists. Come what may, I will not force my party to split.

The merger of communists and socialists in 1946 was a reasonable decision, in those places where it happened. The mistake was to persecute the social democrats, who were unwilling to follow the movement. I know that this cannot be remedied now. But those who wanted the merger—they were in a majority in this part of Germany as well as in Hesse, where the Americans opposed it—carried it out freely.

I only regret that afterward the Stalinist current, the Stalinist incrustation, totally eliminated the socialist tradition in our party. I want to revive it, but not through a split. On the contrary, I want to exted our heritage and open us up to many more ideas than in the past—communist, socialist, and pacifist ideas.

LE FIGARO: There are the Christians, too. Could you imagine a coalition between your communist party and your friend de Maiziere's CDU, the Christian Democratic Union, to get the GDR out of the rut?

Gregor Gysi: I do not rule out any partners a priori. It remains to be seen whether we are accepted.

Christianity has created values very close to ours and I maintain cordial relations with Lothar de Maiziere, but it is chiefly a political matter. The crucial question now is: What is my attitude to the GDR? Either you want to preserve the GDR or you want to have it assimilated (by the FRG—LE FIGARO editor's note). It all hinges on that.

The parties and movements that agree with us on preserving the GDR are potential coalition partners for us. Since I do not yet know what the CDU's stance will be 6 May 1990, I cannot answer you yet.

Moreover, we Communists adhere to a certain level of state ownership in the economy, beyond which all forms of ownership are possible. But we will not allow public ownership to fall below a percentage that will enable us to continue to guarantee full employment and social security.

LE FIGARO: Will you allow market forces to act?

Gregor Gysi: We accept the market, but not without a plan.

LE FIGARO: If you party loses the majority, will you relinquish government?

Gregor Gysi: We will accept any election result, whatever it may be. But we are also willing to form a coalition. Our party has a major historical and topical responsibility. There is no other political force capable of filling the gap that it would leave if it were to disappear. I believe that people are beginning to realize this and that a sufficient proportion of voters will give us their votes to enable us to exercise shared political responsibility.

LE FIGARO: The citizens of the GDR have abandoned the streets for those of West Berlin and the FRG. Will Prime Minister Hans Modrow succeed in reversing this trend?

Gregor Gysi: Our state leadership has decided on measures to open up the Wall without awaiting vital prior measures. I am in favor of opening borders but proper conditions are needed. This is not the case here, bearing in mind the differences in prices between East and West. If as many people as so desire come to our country now from the West, it could become very problematic from the economic viewpoint. We must therefore take rapid measures. It will be difficult, but my party is examining it.

LE FIGARO: But does this not mean that you will be closing the Wall again?

Gregor Gysi: No, no. That is out of the question. That is exactly what must not be done. I would like our fellow citizens to become real Europeans. Before only GDR citizens have been closed in by the Wall. Now they are getting to know West Berlin and the FRG. This is prompting nationalist feelings in some of them. I would like them next to get to know Paris, London, and Rome. Thus they would discover their own identity. There would be no more nationalism. I cannot pay for these visits for the time being, but people can help us to turn our citizens into Europeans. The other European countries must help us not to be exclusively dependent on the FRG.

Do not underestimate the forces of democracy and the feeling of identity of the GDR's citizens. They are less afraid of us than of the FRG, of losing their jobs and of right-wing extremism in the FRG. Peace in Europe is at stake. An uncontrollable evolution toward reunification at the present time would entail the disruption of all Europe's balances. This would be a victory for the right, followed automatically by a demand for the return of our former territories in the East. Politicians who throw oil on the fire in this situation are acting irresponsibly.

LE FIGARO: Did Gorbachev want what has happened in your country?

Gregor Gysi: I am sure that Gorbachev would have wanted the party to carry out the democratization. But this wish has not been fulfilled.

### Poll Shows Majority in GDR Wants Unity

*AU2712224589 Hamburg BILD in German 27 Dec 89 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Majority in GDR Wants Unity"]

[Text] Politicians should take into account the following figures if they speak about the people's will! A clear majority of the people between the Elbe and Oder Rivers is in favor of the reunification of Germany. The renowned Infas polling institute carried out an opinion poll on behalf of BILD and obtained the following results from the first representative opinion poll in the GDR: Fifty-two percent of the citizens were in favor of reunification, 37 percent were against it, and the rest did not know. A total of 1,092 persons were polled between 16 and 20 December: "The opinion poll is representative of GDR households who have a telephone. The results can be applied on a general level to well-off sections of the population that enjoyed privileges under the old regime." This means that the actual support for German unity is probably much higher. Those who enjoy fewer privileges, have less to lose, and, as a result, adhere less to the old order.

### Church Leader Sees Danger of Anarchy

*LD2012105589 Hamburg DPA in German 1013 GMT 20 Dec 89*

[Text] Saarbruecken (DPA)—Guenter Krusche, general superintendent of the Evangelical Church in Berlin, sees the present danger of "a kind of anarchy" in the GDR. Speaking today on Saarland radio, Krusche also gave a positive assessment of the visit to Dresden by Chancellor Kohl. The danger of euphoria boiling over is not as great as an outbreak of anarchy, the church official said. "The decay of power of the present rulers is continuing at a furious pace, and the new groups are far from having the people behind them yet." GDR citizens do not have a clear idea of whom to vote for.

Krusche described the impression created by the chancellor during his visit to Dresden as "quite good." Kohl had envisioned a "feasible treaty-based community" and had "included the European dimension of the German question." Krusche said of the chancellor's reception: "I also think it is a good thing if people who are already out for reunification should get the opportunity to rejoice." This was a relief for them and to this extent the visit also helped to ease tension. There was "a mood of high spirits" in Dresden, but one should not overlook the Berlin demonstration against reunification.

An edited version of the interview was made available to DPA in advance.

## Reportage on Minister Horn's Visit to Romania

### Return Noted; Report on Talks

*LD2912193589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] [Announcer] Gyula Horn has held talks lasting several hours in Bucharest. Our foreign minister arrived home not long ago. Our special correspondent Jozsef Orosz was given a place on his special airplane. Now we shall hear his summary:

[Begin Orosz recording] Hungarian Foreing Minister Gyula Horn held altogether some 6 hours of talks with the Romanian provisional state president, Ion Iliescu, as well as with the head of government, Petr Roman, and Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac.

In his interview on the airplane, while traveling back, Gyula Horn emphasized that work has begun on building Romanian-Hungarian relations on new bases. The guarantee for Hungarian-Romanian relations being genuinely friendly is that Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman have proclaimed democracy in their program. A special committee was established today to formulate within days the most important tasks. What is certain is that they agreed that the Debrecen and Cluj consulates will shortly be opened.

The provisional Romanian head of state introduced Karoly Kiraly, his new deputy responsible for nationality affairs in Romania, to Gyula Horn. Gyula Horn emphasized that there was agreement with his negotiating partners that the Ceausescu regime incited nationality differences, and the current Romanian state leadership has disassociated itself from this in a far-reaching manner.

Ion Iliescu at the same time expressed gratitude to the Hungarian Government because it was the first to recognize the Romanian state leadership, and he gave special thanks for Hungary's assistance.

After the talks, toward evening, I questioned Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front. At first he replied to my questions about when, in his opinion, the Romanian state leadership would be able to consolidate its power and stabilize the consolidation. The Romanian head of state replied that to date they have seized every opportunity to stabilize the country, and that compared with conditions in Romania 1 week ago, the current situation is radically different. It is improving by the hour.

Then I asked Iliescu when the entire list of names in his government would be announced, to which he replied that even now they were working on the government list of names but that a new government was conceivable only after the elections. The head of state said: Our most important problem now is to be able to prepare for the April elections and, along with this, to stabilize Romania in every way. This is also necessary to ensure a stable government after the elections.

Then I asked the head of state what chances he thought the Romanian Communist Party had in the elections, since there is no doubt that this party's fall was the ugliest one in world history. Iliescu said: I cannot say anything concrete, but I hope that they will be able to perform and play a positive role in the new Romanian democracy, because this is a very important part of Romanian society. We are in a situation in which we have to ask all of our society's forces to act in unity and to join forces.

The National Front's platform is built upon social consensus. Everyone in Romania, from the left wing to the right wing, is working for this same platform. This platform is consolidation, Ion Iliescu said in conclusion. [end recording]

### Horn Interviewed on Visit

*LD2912201289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Jozsef Hidvegi at Ferihegy airport in Budapest on 29 December—recorded]

[Text] [Hidvegi] Presumably, it was not possible to discuss, in a short time, every matter concerning the two countries' relationship. Nonetheless, what were the first steps which you now at least are coordinating?

[Horn] Properly speaking, the basis of relations is linked to two essential issues: One is that we respect Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty. On the other hand, we firmly stated—and this was fully agreed upon by the Romanian leadership—that a basic condition for settling the Hungarian-Romanian relationship is that the restoration of the rights of the Magyars in Romania be ensured. We dealt with the restoration of the consulate-generals in Cluj and Debrecen, the opening of cultural institutes in Budapest and Bucharest, and cooperation along the borders, including cooperation in water management.

What we considered to be of outstanding importance was that this Ceausescu system, regime, had carried out enormous intellectual and other destruction among the Magyars in Romania, by demolishing their cultural and educational institutions, and so forth. Hungary is ready to cooperate in repairing this damage. A condition for cooperation is that we should provide concrete support for education, culture, and every other sphere, thus in the development of the Magyar language-school network, educational institutions, and so forth.

I consider it very important, and they immediately agreed, that the distribution of press items from Hungary should be made free in Romania, and the relay, transmission of Hungarian television programs to Romania should be ensured so that we can progress toward a mass media relationship. The matter of the Romanian refugees in Hungary was also discussed.

[Hidvegi] What assistance is Romania able to give for the resettlement of the people who are stuck here?

[Horn] We have no doubt that they are abolishing all the previous administrative restrictions. In connection with the refugees, we also have no doubt that they are ensuring full legal protection for the refugees. Thus, they are abolishing the measures which Ceausescu used against them.

However, a matter, which is time-consuming, is that their [the refugees'] material assets, property, should be given back if the refugees go back.

[Hidvegi] The attention of those working in the press was aroused by the statement issued today by the new Romanian leadership, in connection with the fact that, according to their evaluation, foreigners did not fight in the various commando units against the Romanian Army. At the same time, during the course of the news bulletins, we heard these reports almost daily. Was this question discussed at your talks today?

[Horn] Yes, it was discussed in the framework of direct talks. They say that there is evidence, proof that foreigners are fighting. But, as to how they got there, this is difficult to say, difficult to ascertain. There is no question of the government or the official organs of some country having sent troops or commandos there; there is no question of this, or of some government having organized for them to be sent there. According to their knowledge, suppositions, they probably arrived there during Ceausescu's time in various ways yet to be clarified. However, I think it is a known fact that foreigners of the most varied nationalities took part, even if not in great numbers, on the basis of having come there earlier.

### Budapest Radio Interviews Horn

*LD2912225689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Guyla Horn by special correspondent Jozsef Orosz; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Orosz] After Hungarian diplomacy was the first to recognize the new government's existence and declared this, you have taken the second step and come personally to Romania. With these two steps, has Hungary firmly gained a foothold in Romania?

[Horn] I consider this perhaps to be even more important, because I take it as my point of departure that it is of basic importance to us that there should be a settled, normal, Hungarian-Romanian relationship, which is developing well. We, too,—not just Hungarian policy, but within this foreign policy—suffered greatly from relations during the Ceausescu era. It is known that the Ceausescu regime constituted a direct threat to us.

It is obvious that these threats have vanished and that cooperation and a relationship with a civilized system is of basic importance to us.

[Orosz] Do you also see that consolidation in Romania is firmly under way?

[Horn] That is what I experienced by all means.

[Orosz] What did they say about the current situation?

[Horn] Regarding the current situation, they said that, in fact, the situation has stabilized. This is true, at any event, in the military sense. At the same time there invariably are pockets in the capital and in some provincial towns, places, where there is fighting, where the security forces are resisting. In several places there are pockets that have not yet been discovered.

Yet I might add that at the same time the entire situation, the country's public safety, in their judgment, has considerably improved. In practice, now the authorities, the ministries are being set up. We ourselves have seen that water, power, and heating services are normal. The new management structures have been set up in the factories. The situation is being normalized at a very vigorous pace.

Another thing is that we offered to willingly take part when they request support in international organizations in the interest of the international consolidation of the new Romanian leadership, and we naturally will also conduct consultations on what the foreign judgment of events here is like. Of course, this also includes international reaction to the Ceausescu couple's execution.

However, the essence concerned the things in which joint action is considered necessary. Yet, the third topic was the sphere of the most detailed, most thorough discussions. This was the basis for setting right Hungarian-Romanian relations, putting them on new bases.

[Orosz] What bases are these?

[Horn] They firmly pointed out that not only in their program—that is, in the programs of the Council of the National Salvation Front—but in all of their activity, in the composition of the leadership, the creation of democratic rights and the development of democratic institutions would be part of the focus of their tasks concerning the coming months. It is democracy that must basically guarantee the conditions, the possibilities, which pertain to the rights of the nationalities here, first and foremost of the Magyar nationality.

Iliescu and the head of the government, as well as the foreign minister, agreed with what I said: that a normalization, setting to rights of the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, basically depends on the restoration of the rights of the Magyars living in Romania, on the assertion of their rights. They fully agreed with this, that we consider this to be the primary viewpoint in our relations.

The other thing, also connected with this, with which we dealt in detail is what has to be done in order for us to set to rights the destruction, the damage caused by the several decades of Ceausescu rule in intellectual life, in the nationalities situation.

Here we dealt with almost everything in turn. What are we thinking of? We are thinking that we took out that draft declaration on nationalities which formulates in a political and legal sense the fundamental demands, desires, of relations with the nationalities. We are thinking of the operation once again of the two consulates, that is opening the consulate in Cluj and the Romanian Consulate in Debrecen. We are thinking of opening the cultural institutions in Bucharest and Budapest. We are thinking of ensuring free distribution in Romania of Hungarian press products.

We raised and reached agreement on environmental protection, mainly in connection with the border rivers, on what kind of agreements are needed.

We dealt with the refugee affair, how the affairs of those who want to return home can be settled in a reassuring way.

We also discussed that Premier Miklos Nemeth is ready to meet his partner, Petre Roman, at any time. We agreed with the foreign minister that within a relatively short period of time he would visit Budapest, that we would hold a working meeting.

Right here and now, we formed a mixed committee on the level of experts; a mixed committee which will put concrete proposals on the table very quickly, very [word indistinct] on questions connected to the aforementioned Hungarian-Romanian relations, contact.

[Orosz] The signs definitely indicate that the government of Petre Roman and the National Front have strengthened militarily. How did you see this? How strong is the government and the National Front politically? To what extent will these promises, these (?cross) agreements be able to be kept? What kind of political hinterland does the Front and the government have?

[Horn] These people think in an extremely open way. When we were talking, for example, about how they envision the multi-party system in the coming months, then the chairman and the premier said: Well, parties have already formed, and every citizen or group of citizens have the possibility to form the kind of party they want, with the exclusion of fascist parties. I am sure this pluralism will commence in Romania and the question of who will be in government, either in Romania or in Hungary—that is, which individuals—is in my opinion a secondary question. This is not the point here. Here lasting foundations can be created for Hungarian-Romanian relations in which, in my opinion, every government will have its own opportunities.

They said that the Front, the Council, and the government consider this the most important task of the political development of the coming months, as I said, and this can be the main guarantee of this [as heard]. Those people who have been brought into the Council are, in their opinion, without exception people who have made or want to make a complete break with the Ceausescu regime or its remnants. So, they want to create a completely new political culture.

### Defense Ministry Spokesman on Aid to Romania

*LD2912215189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] The visit to Bucharest by the head of Hungarian diplomacy provided an opportunity for military discussions. (Zsuzsa Simoncsics) questioned Defense Ministry spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti:

[Begin recording] [(Simoncsics)] Gyula Horn returned a few hours ago. To our knowledge, an official military delegation also visited Romania.

[Keleti] Laszlo Borsits said that the Romanian military leadership received him. They conducted a long discussion on further cooperation, aid deliveries, and on other assistance our Army can give the Romanian people. The Hungarian chief of staff judged his journey as being successful. He said that he experienced sincere friendship from the Romanian military leaders, and they several times emphasized their thanks for the immediate and continuous help from the Hungarian people and the Hungarian People's Army.

By the way, I have very good news in this regard, too. A change is expected in a short time concerning assistance for the Transylvanian region, sending aid consignments. The four Romanian transport aircraft which were grounded here, and which yesterday evening could not take deliveries to Bucharest owing to the bad weather, took off today at noon for the Romanian capital. While en route, they were instructed to land in Timisoara and to unload there the medicines, medical instruments and various food consignments which the Hungarian People's Army was sending to the Romanians.

Another new item of information is that the Hungarian chief of staff in Bucharest made arrangements for loading 72 tonnes of food into railcars in Debrecen. Tomorrow the train will go via Cegled to Biharkeresztes, and then to Cluj. This means that the first large food and medicine consignment might reach Cluj, which is some 240 kilometers from the country's border, tomorrow or the day after. [end recording]

### Interior Ministry Statement on Romanian Refugees

*LD2912165989 Budapest MTI in English 1451 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, December 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian authorities are submitting to strict examination all citizens arriving from Romania without valid travel documents over the "green border," and filtering out Securitate agents and convicts on the run whose stay would be incompatible with the interests of both Hungary and Romania. Since December 22, twenty-one people have returned to Romania on their own request. The Hungarian authorities have sent back three persons with a criminal record and four suspected members of the

Securitate, the National Police Headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior told the press, Friday.

From December 22, the Hungarian authorities have issued travel documents that allows the Romanian citizens staying in Hungary to return or make a visit to their homeland. Citizens were reminded, however, that under the current Romanian regulations they have to apply for a visa. According to official information from Romanian authorities, the Romanian Embassy in Budapest and the Romanian offices in charge of visa issuance at the border-crossing points have not yet been authorized to enter visas in the travel documents. The Hungarian authorities are therefore recommending that the Romanian citizens temporarily postpone their return.

## TV Shows Film of Timisoara Massacre

*LD3012195789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] We received today the video made by a cameraman in Timisoara of the 17 December massacre. He took the shocking film from the window of one of the houses on Timisoara's Opera Square. The cameraman watched throughout while tanks fired on the people grouped on the square, and then the film shows the victims of the action. The film ends here, because the cameraman was also shot. This Timisoara massacre launched the fall 5 days later of the Ceausescu regime.

## Ministry Regrets Reports on Arab Role in Romania

*LD2912144189 Budapest MTI in English 1341 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["Statement by Hungarian Foreign Ministry"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, December 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the entire Hungarian people followed with anxiety and hope the reports on the struggle waged by the peoples of Romania against the dictatorial regime. The ministry expresses thanks and appreciation to the media who faced danger and made sacrifices to inform the public on the events of the revolution.

The statement considers it regrettable, however, that the Hungarian coverage included some unverified news about the involvement of the citizens of some Arab countries in the defense of the deposed dictator and the bloody struggle against the revolution. Such reporting created incomprehension and indignation in the Arab countries.

The Foreign Ministry dissociates itself from the interpretation of such reporting which was contrary to Hungarian intentions. It stresses that the engendering of mistrust between peoples is incompatible with the principles of the Hungarian foreign policy, and Hungary invariably strives to foster and enrich its many-sided and fruitful relations with the Arab countries in the spirit of mutual respect, reciprocal benefits and understanding.

## Editorial on Gorbachev Reforms, Effects on Europe

*AU2912085289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Dec 89 p 3*

[Peter Vajda editorial: "Gorbachev or Melnikov?"]

[Text] Some of our previous issues would have been inconceivable 1 year ago, at least from one point of view. Reports from Eastern Europe, Berlin, Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava, Sofia, and even from Timisoara are now squeezing everything else from the foreign policy columns of our newspaper. Every Central-Eastern European country is witnessing in a different way the disintegration of a model believed to be viable, and quite naturally, domestic events are in the center of attention in every country.

However, it would not be right to disregard the fact that the events in the Soviet Union, events connected with the name of Gorbachev, have played a tremendous role in the events that have taken place in all the other countries. These events did not play a role in "the old way", by encouraging some changes by means of interference. "Glasnost" and "perestroyka"—the most widespread Russian words since the sputnik—had the force of Jericho's trumpets also in places with thick walls.... Precisely because the effects of the Gorbachev phenomenon have been so great, it is essential to pay attention to Moscow.

The ship of Gorbachev reforms—and this is certain—is advancing on more stormy waters than before. The cold winter has come early to Moscow this year, where one can find few things for many rubles. Supply difficulties are enormous, store shelves are empty, and lines of people are long. The failure of domestic trade is obvious, and the fact that the domestic trade is now failing to supply the country even with basic consumer goods has forced the leadership to make a more radical change than ever. The essence of the regrouping of resources—announced by Premier Ryzhkov last week—is that they accept stagnation in other sectors of the economy in exchange for increasing the consumer goods and services. A leading Soviet reform economist used a historical parallel and described this as an economic Brest-Litovsk (reference to the difficult peace treaty following World War I). We are not talking here only about the Soviet domestic economy. The new GDR premier has recently told the U.S. secretary of state that the Soviet Union will be unable to export the previously planned amount of fuel, not because it does not want to, but because it has less than expected at its disposal. All this will also affect the other partners of the Soviet Union....

The second issue is that of nationality disturbances. The Armed Forces continue to be the only power capable of maintaining order in some part of the country. In the meantime, some republics are demanding practically full autonomy, and a strong debate is going on all over the country: should it be a federation or a confederation.

The third issue is relatively new and particularly complex. As we already mentioned, Gorbachev's reforms were catalysts of changes in other places, and this "other places" now have an effect on the Soviet Union! The 17 million powerful Soviet guiding apparatus, the so-called nomenklatura, is aware of the discovery of corruption and the abuse of power, and the concrete steps and emotional reactions connected with this (lately in the GDR, for example). Taking advantage of glasnost for their own benefit, some of these people are openly opposing Gorbachev. In the interest of their own privileges, this apparatus readily mentions the Leninist heritage and the historical achievements. This could lead to a situation in which a district party secretary in Siberia, a certain Melnikov, blamed Gorbachev at the Central Committee session for seeking the favors of the West, and even the blessing of the Pope. However, Gorbachev received not only the Pope's blessing but also the entire parliament's blessing. It is true that the political storm is not abating there either. Melnikov's followers on the one hand, and Yeltsin's follower on the other hand are more active than ever.

What road will the Soviet Union choose under these circumstances? The economic Brest-Litovsk is a sober-minded and rational decision. Gestures of the leadership like halting the supply of arms to certain Latin American countries and to Cambodia, too, are further signals to the West that Moscow is reconsidering its way of thinking which started from the simplified thesis of unconditional and obligatory support for (people's liberation) wars considered to be justified. All the signs show that Gorbachev is making use of the huge power concentrated in his hands to guarantee the regulation of processes, continue the party's renewal, and to strengthen the process of restructuring. The success of this endeavor and a stabilization of the Soviet Union are invaluably important for the world, and for our region in particular.

The alternative to this would be a long cold winter with strong cold winds coming from Melnikov's homeland and felt beyond their borders. Everyone who looks upon Moscow with concern hopes that the future will not bring such winds.

## Janos Kadar Society Charged in Court

*AU1212164489 Budapest MTI in English 0824 GMT 8 Dec 89*

[Text] Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)—The Hungarian Police Office has completed investigations in the case of Roland Antoniewicz, and has proposed the Budapest Metropolitan Attorney General's Office to raise charges.

Investigations were opened in September, on the grounds of spreading rumours and other crimes. It was ascertained that Roland Antoniewicz prepared a leaflet on the reorganization of the "Hungarian Arrow-Cross (NAZI) Party", in September 1989. Misleading a journalist, Antoniewicz made photo-copies of the leaflet, and sent these to several dailies and citizens.

Roland Antoniewicz confessed to the crime. He said he made the leaflets to discredit certain parties, to create the impression they had something to do with the Hungarian Arrow-Cross Party.

Investigations also revealed that the Janos Kadar Society, which Roland Antoniewicz presented at various forums, does not exist.

## Statements on New Romanian Government; Greetings

### Mazowiecki Greets Roman

*AU2912191389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 89 p 2*

[Greetings telegram from Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman—date and place not given]

[Text] To Petre Roman, prime minister of the Romanian Government, in Bucharest:

Please accept my best wishes in connection with your appointment to the post of prime minister of the Romanian Government by the Council of the National Salvation Front.

As soon as the National Salvation Front was established, the Polish Government established contact with it and recognized the new authorities in Romania. It supports their program and is ready to engage in close cooperation for the benefit of both our peoples.

I sincerely sympathize with the Romanian people in light of the losses and suffering that it has experienced, and I offer my condolences to all the families of the victims.

I deeply believe that drawing on the support of broad social forces, the government that you head will manage to lead the country out of its present extremely difficult situation and ensure its successful development under conditions of true freedom and democracy.

I wish you complete success in this noble cause, and I assure you once again of our readiness to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

### Jaruzelski Statement

*AU2912191189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 89 p 1*

[Statement issued by President Wojciech Jaruzelski—date and place not given]

[Text] The tragedy of the Romanian nation arouses among Poles feelings of profound concern, indignation, and condemnation of the perpetrators. Unfortunately, they drew no conclusions from the experiences of other states and peoples striving for democracy and the abandonment of an anachronistic system of government. By ignoring and even criticizing such experience, they opposed the objective processes of the historical development of societies.

Only a path of dialogue and national accord, a path of democratization and profound reforms, and respect for the will of society accords with the interests of states and peoples.

That is our Polish experience, and those are the conclusions of all the sociopolitical forces responsible for Poland and of its state authorities.

I fully support movements seeking the democratic rebirth of fraternal Romania. I stand united with initiatives and humanitarian actions to aid the Romanian nation, which is experiencing such tragic suffering.

### Jaruzelski Greets Iliescu

*AU2912191789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Dec 89 p 2*

[Greetings telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic, to Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front in Romania—date and place not given]

[Text] To Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, in Bucharest.

Conscious of the burden of responsibility and the tasks that the Council of the National Salvation Front has assumed, I send you best wishes for a successful solution to the problems that Romania faces.

I convey to your hands cordial greetings to the fraternal Romanian nation. We share your pain caused by the tragic events that have brought such great losses and suffering to Romania society.

The Polish people feels solidarity with the Romanian poeple in their striving to create a new existence in a free, democratic, and just fatherland.

I also wish to assure you that the authorities of the Polish People's Republic fully support friendship and constructive cooperation in the interests of both states and peoples.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

### Commentary Applauds Struggle

*AU2912185989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 89 p 1*

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "The Tragedy, the Hope, and the Warning"]

[Text] The dictatorship has fallen. One decisive surge of the nation proved sufficient. This surge also showed up the fragility of the mafia family's power base—a family that dressed itself up in stolen clothes and mouthed slogans which completely contradicted the things they did.

In essence, this mafia was ruled by a fear of its own people, and it was kept in place by power. That is why it was deaf to the voice of its people—deaf to those people who had long supported it, but who with the passage of time broke away from the regime, having come to the conclusion that this was leading the country up a dead-end street.

It is difficult to identify Ceausescu's regime with any political system other than unqualified dictatorship—a dictatorship similar to that of Marcos and Amin, who preceded Ceausescu's fate. Regardless of the slogans and aims, this kind of system is dying and is being consigned to the bitter historical past, a past that already includes Stalinism.

The drama of the contemporary world lies in the fact that the fertile soil created by a revolution that set itself the aims of eradicating exploitation of man by man, the aims of human freedom and social justice, gave forth poisonous weeds, and that the programs intended to serve man were turned against him and cynically utilized in some countries to shape personal power that grew into a system of political deviation. Let us leave the historians to ponder why this happened in Romania. In passing, one can say that the primary aims which helped Ceausescu to build up his power base were in tune with many of the national aspirations, which he later betrayed.

One of the factors which contributed to strengthening Ceausescu and created the appearance of his personal authority internationally was the acclaim that he enjoyed in the capitals of the West—capitals which counted on using Bucharest, via the dictator's slogans of independence and self-sufficiency, for their own political ends in East and central Europe. No attention was paid to the fact that these slogans were empty and without substance. What was important was their political resonance.

The fall of the Romanian dictator is not a chance occurrence. It is a direct result of the processes of democratization from the Elbe River to Kamchatka. In this short historical perspective, set against the background of what is happening in East Europe today, one realizes the wisdom of the policies of the Polish United Workers Party, policies that painfully began to work through our party from 1956, to shape themselves into a united program at the ninth congress of the party in 1981, and gave fruit at the Central Committee 10th plenum in 1989. This path had its sharp turns and tragic conflicts. But it is this very path that saved our country and nation from a bloody confrontation.

This fact will always stand to the credit of our reformatory forces in the PZPR, which shortly before the Soviet perestroyka realized that an end had come for the monopoly power of one party and methods of rule without regard for the will of other circles of society, and had realized that a pluralism of views constituted the motive strength of economic and social development.

That is why in our hearts we are fully behind the Romanian people who, in a desperate but highly effective way—one worthy of our admiration—have toppled the historical and retrograde dictatorial regime which was like a thorn in Europe's flesh. The happiness and satisfaction are, however, marred by the cost of the liberation. It weighs even heavier on Ceausescu and the system he created. Thousands of dead and wounded. Sacrifices that could have been avoided. These dead and wounded are the victims of those who once again showed that the only thing they were capable of offering their nation was force and the criminal attempts to unleash a civil war.

One does not know the final number of dead and wounded. Romanian society has paid a terrible price for freeing itself from this inhuman dictatorship. We do not know how many people perished trying to defend this dictatorship. Nor do we know why Ceausescu was tried in the particular way he was. Those who died cannot be brought to life. I fear, however, that the sea of blood will leave deep scars in the psyche of the Romanian people, and it will not be a factor that will facilitate national reconciliation in the name of a democratic future.

One has thus to admire even more strongly the self-organization of the patriotic forces, which in such a short time have created a united front for saving the country and are emerging victorious in the fratricidal struggle that was inflicted on them. This is a favorable factor for Romania's immediate future, and the hope that the Romanian nation will quickly solve its problems and overcome the difficulties that remain after Ceausescu and that, based on what it has created, it will be able to build foundations for the development of its country.

In Poland we watched with apprehension the Romanian days that were so full of tragedy. In our thoughts we were with those who spilt their own blood in forging a new road of freedom for their fatherland. All this was accompanied by the sad reflection on the results of imposing one's will on others, on the consequences of monopolizing programs without regard to the slogans they proclaim, and on the results of negating views other than the view postulated by the actual authority.

Romania is not just a symbol of the changes pointing to the future. It is also a warning.

## Polish Consul in Bucharest Comments

*AU0201115890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Dec 89 pp 1, 5*

[Unattributed report: "Consul Piotr Czyzewski for RZECZPOSPOLITA"]

[Text] We have the impression, Piotr Czyzewski said—I mean the Poles who are working in Bucharest—that the situation is returning to normal. The new authorities have begun to issue decrees and directives abolishing the previous regulations, which were frequently a burden on the population.

On the other hand, in view of the news of fighting coming in from all parts of Romania, military jurisdiction is in effect as of today (27 December) until further notice. For this reason, television has shown once again extensive footage of N. Ceausescu's trial and a film of his execution. The purpose of this is to convince the former leader's supporters that further struggle is useless. Tomorrow (28 December) is the last chance for those who have not yet laid down their arms and are continuing armed struggle to surrender their weapons to the Army between 1600 and 1800.

Romanian society is happy about the fall of the Ceausescu regime. One can see this everywhere, in the way people behave, in the expressions on their faces. One can observe great relief and joy that all this is over.

Nevertheless, many questions are being asked and many doubts raised. After all, the new authorities contain many people who are connected with the party and old authorities. There is a great deal of unclarity as to the paths of action to be taken by Premier Petre Roman's government. Will this government merely implement a somewhat improved version of the old program? What will the new authorities next moves be? These are questions being asked by all citizens. After all, there is so much to do.

Here is something that is important to all Poles with friends and relatives in Romania. So far, no problems concerning our countrymen have been noted, no one has been injured. Therefore there is no need to worry.

## Congratulations Sent to CSSR President Havel

### From Walesa

*LD2912183289 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 23—The Solidarity Press Office conveyed today to PAP the text of a congratulatory letter Lech Walesa sent to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. The letter reads as follows:

"Esteemed Mr President,

"I was very glad to receive the news about your being unanimously elected to this responsible post of eminence. I know that first of all you are a playwright while your unyielding opposition attitude stemmed from moral inperatives. Therefore I have all the greater admiration for your decision to run for this important post.

"Czechoslovakia needs such people like you, a duty will rest on them to continue the chosen road of new reforms. I congratulate you and I wish you strength in carrying the burden of responsibility for your motherland."

### From Jaruzelski

*LD2912203689 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski sent today a congratulatory cable to Vaclav Havel in connection with his election to the post of president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

### From Mazowiecki

*LD2912222889 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent a congratulatory cable to Vaclav Havel, the newly elected president of Czechoslovakia.

## Mazowiecki Receives Gorbachev's New Year Message

*LD2912222289 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—The Soviet Embassy in Warsaw conveyed New Year's greetings for Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

## Jarulzelski, Mazowiecki on New Year, Future

### Jaruzelski's New Year Message

*LD3112212289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[New Year's speech by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is not a solemn speech or message, simply a few words which I wish, on the occasion of the coming New Year, to address to you.

However, first about the year that has passed. This was a special time, full of events and rapid changes, a breakthrough time. What for decades and years seemed impossible and unrealistic became a fact. I do not wish to simplify the past. There were painful matters, wrongs, mutual accusations. Frequently there was a danger of confrontation, a spirit of anger was frequently present; (?we were drawn by the current of the struggle). It was necessary to break this vicious circle, to rise above mistrust, prejudices, and insults. We all had to mature for dialogue and compromise.

We went toward each other from afar, from various sides. We went slowly, along a rough road. In spite of all difficulties, it led to political realism, to understanding and democracy. Although this is not a frequent phenomenon in our history, the Poles this time were wise before the event. In the process of changes we went furthest and above all, we reached deepest.

Our historical experience has many pioneering features. Its success can make it easier for others and can open the road for new and better solutions. We, therefore, have reason for satisfaction. Our Polish road is a good example of how to calmly and cautiously resolve difficult problems of a nation.

This has been stressed with respect by all our foreign interlocutors. Poland could have become a detonator, and instead it is becoming a bridge in East-West relations and an important link in the European process. Closely linked to it is the right of Poland to live within secure, unchangeable, and inviolable borders.

We shall not allow this right to be taken from us. It is one of the cornerstones of peace on our continent. Dear ladies and gentlemen, we are entering 1990 with hope. It will not be an easy year. The living conditions of many Polish families are difficult. The threshold of economic transformations is extremely high. We must overcome it and survive these most difficult times. There can be no return from the road of reforms. Ahead of us serious challenges, but also, there arises a special chance. What makes it real? The people's aspirations; the will to make changes; the desire for normality, as a creative and mobilizing force; the potential of the country, built through the efforts of generations, as a firm foundation for further development; the great confidence in the government and parliament, as a tremendously valuable capital, and friends, nearby and far away, as a great and desired (?treasure).

We are a large European nation, we have a great history and also, I believe, a great future. But, it will not come all by itself. A lot of effort is needed for it to be so. No one is going to do it for us. For us to be respected we have to respect ourselves. For things to be better for us we have to be better ourselves. So, let us today wish one another, first and foremost, perseverence. Let us wish peace mutual understanding, and respect. Let us wish that we enter the New Year with a deep sense of responsibility and community for our national future; with the idea of social justice, which is still alive; and with the will of intensified toil in the interests of our homeland—Poland.

Every nation needs successes. But, its measure of success on a historical scale is decided also, and even above all, by the sum total of the daily deeds and efforts of every citizen. And so, much strength and good health—that's what I sincerely wish all my compatriots at home and abroad. On this evening of New Year's Eve, may all those who are spending it merrily, enjoying themselves, and those who are at work, on duty, or (?at sea), and those who are suffering, for whom things are tough and not good, look to tomorrow with hope.

I wish you, ladies and gentlemen, a Happy New Year.

[Announcer] We have broadcast a New Year's address by the President of the Polish Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

## Mazowiecki Optimistic

*LD3012140889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1055 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Interview with Prime Minister Mazowiecki by unidentified correspondents at the Sejm building in Warsaw; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [First correspondent] Prime Minister, a brief word: What will happen next year?

[Mazowiecki] Next year? Things will be better!

[First correspondent] [laughing, words indistinct]

[Mazowiecki] But not immediately. Things will be better in the second half and it will be hard in the first half, but the hard times have to be endured so that things can get better. Besides, why should we be pessimists? Everything has to be normalized in Poland. Life has to be better; people must be more satisfied. Why do you expect me to be pessimistic on the threshold of the year? Optimism!

[First correspondent] But I do not expect pessimism at all.

[Mazowiecki] Good day!

[Second correspondent] Good day!

[Mazowiecki] Well?

[Second correspondent] You are an optimist...

[First correspondent, interrupting] Your horoscope says that you are an optimist!

[Mazowiecki] I have to be an optimist! [laughs]

[Both correspondents] Thank you very much.

## Mazowiecki's Christmas Eve Address to Nation

*AU2912191989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 89 p 2*

[Televized Christmas Eve address by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki—date and place not given]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen!

Dear fellow countrymen!

I would like to be together with you today, to be in your homes to offer you Christmas greetings. I plucked up the courage to speak to you today, on Christmas Eve, having been encouraged to do so by many people. I would like to think that you will receive me not as an intruder, but as someone who is close to you, as the visitor who is expected and for whom a place is kept at the Christmas Eve table according to the old Polish custom.

Christmas Eve is a special day, an exceptional day. It is a time when everything becomes quiet and when everything other than what is of the greatest importance on this evening becomes unimportant.

As a Christian, I believe that on this day 1989 years ago the Lord came down to be among people and became a man. It is to this God who became a man that we direct our thoughts, because we know that he strengthened our humanity and gave it dignity. However, I know that this day is a day for all people. It is day for turning to the most profound human values for everyone—both for those who believe and for those who do not not believe in what happened then. It is a day on which we turn to the highest human values, to the values of man. There is that beautiful Polish tradition of sharing holy bread on this great day. In sharing it, we share each other's troubles, but we also share each other's hopes; we share responsibility; we share our labors; and we share a sense of community. This one custom—a custom that is unknown in other countries—of sharing holy bread gives all of us a sense of community.

It is Christmas Eve in Poland, in the Poland of 1989, and we know that it is Christmas in a Poland in which there are still many difficult problems, in which there are many difficult, formidable problems ahead of us. However, this evening I would very much wish that all the difficult problems that we face, the problems that we experience every day, should not mar one particular thing, that they should not mar the feeling of how much we have already achieved, of how much has already happened, of how different we already are.

We are already different; we feel free; we feel kinder toward each other. People are kinder toward each other, and that is already our great strength today. We feel freer, we are arranging things in our Polish house our own way, and we will continue to arrange things our own way.

We will lead it out of difficulties, and we will arrange things in it according to laws, so that the law means the law, and justice means justice. We should also be aware of how much we have already accomplished.

We were singing "Let Poland be Poland" not that long ago. Poland has already become Poland; and we can arrange things in it as we wish. We can make it better. This is already our task and the task that lies ahead of us.

This is not the case everywhere around us. We think with sorrow of what is happening and has happened in Romania.

We think of mourning; we think of those who fell; we offer our sympathy; and our thoughts are with those who also want to organize their country in freedom. We wish them success in accomplishing their goal.

This is all the more reason why we should value our own course of resolving matters in a spirit of peace, in a spirit of reconciliation, of understanding, of finding solutions that do not lead to such acute conflicts. That is what we accomplished in 1989.

I think I have a right to feel satisfaction over this course, over what we have accomplished this year, over the great achievements concerning freedom that will bear fruit over the next few years, over the great accomplishments, the changes that we are introducing. We are following this course and we value what we have achieved. Everyday problems and the problems of tomorrow should not obscure our common achievement, which was possible thanks to the attitude of Polish society, and that is something that has been accomplished by every one of us, every one of you who are listening to me.

I would like to share a piece of holy bread with all of you, and I would like to wish your families, those who are to dear to you, joy, calm, and peace during these days, and all the best.

May the Lord be with you.

May the Poland that is so close to our hearts be the Poland that we want.

## Prices Continue To Rise; Currency Devalued

### Utilities To Rise 400 Percent

*LD3012193889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] The Ministry of Finance has announced that as of 1 January 1990, the retail prices of electricity, central heating, warm water, and gas are being increased by 400 percent. The retail price of electricity is being increased from 21.30 zloties per kilowatt hour to 106.50 zloties; central heating from 56 zloties to 280 zloties per cubic meter of usable living space in the home; warm water from 22 zloties to 110 zloties per cubic meter of usable living space in the home; high methane natural gas from 23 zloties to 115 zloties per cubic meter. Such a high increase in prices results from the increased costs of generation, themselves caused mainly through the growth of coal supply prices, which is the result of the limitation of subsidies for its extraction. Despite the increase, the retail prices of fuels will continue to be lower than the costs of production and also than the supply prices for industry. For these reasons, subsidies from the [state] budget for central heating and the supply of warm water to homes will be maintained.

### Largest Devaluation Since Sep

*LD3012212889 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 30—The NBP National Bank of Poland has announced that the official exchange rate of the zloty to the U.S. dollar will be 9,500 to one as of January 1, 1990.

This has been the 12th and the biggest devaluation of the zloty since Prime Minister Mazowiecki took office in September, and one intended to close the gap between the official exchange rate and free market rate, stabilizing the currency and introducing domestic convertibility as of January 1.

Last Wednesday the zloty was devalued by 7.7 percent and its rate set at 6,500 zloties to one U.S. dollar.

The NBP bank has also set the monthly prime interest rate at 36 percent as of January 1. This rate will change depending on price movements and will provide a basis for credit banks to set interest rates on deposit accounts and credits.

## Reportage, Statements on Amending Constitution

### PZPR Statement

*LD2912013289 Warsaw PAP in English 0023 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC (Central Committee] Political Bureau authorized the PUWP CC spokesman to convey to PAP the following statement:

"Yesterday, a draft of additional changes in the Constitution which greatly surpass the proposals presented in the first reading during the Sejm meeting on Nov 30 was submitted to the Sejm by deputies.

"Apart from the changes which we regard as correct and which we support, there are also such which concern many spheres substantial for social life but which have not been the subject of any serious social discussion. This particularly concerns the proposals to remove from the Constitution the Articles from 4 to 9, defining the state's duties towards society. The intention to cross out the 10th article speaking that the Armed Forces of the Polish state stand guard to sovereignty and independence of the Polish people, its security and peace raises grave concern.

"In this way, Polish society has been surprised by the proposals of the far-reaching changes which would restrict its rights. PUWP speaks in favour of deep reforms but we believe that most of the additional proposals of changes in the fundamental law should be reviewed in the course of the ordinary procedure, not the summary one, by the specially appointed Sejm constitutional committee whose task is to work out a draft of a new constitution.

"PUWP CC Political Bureau sticks to its stance that the questions fundamental for the future of the whole nation should always be the subject of the nation-wide discussion, including a referendum."

### Sejm Debates Changes

*LD2912234189 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1951 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29: The deputies held here today a whole-day-long debate on a draft law on amendments to Poland's constitution filed with the Sejm (Parliament's lower chamber) by its legislative committee.

The bill includes a much wider scope of amendments to the constitution (a dozen or so of them) than the deputies' draft amendments discussed at the Sejm a month ago which concerned cancelling the entry on the so-called leading role of the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] in the state.

The deputies forwarded no objections as to that amendment. They also did not argue over a proposal on changing the name of the state to Polish Republic. Whereas the question of the possible change of the coat-of-arms (adding a crown to a white eagle in red field) stirred up a lively discussion. In favour of the change were first of all the deputies from the Democratic Party [DP] and from all Christian organisations. The proposal having only partial support by the deputies from the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor group OKP, Polish Peasants' Party-Odrodzenie [PSL-O] and PUWP.

Yet, the biggest emotion swelled over the proposal of incorporating Prosecutor's Office in the Ministry of Justice. In other words—excluding it from the supervision by the president.

"Taking it away from the president. We change his role from that of a master-arbitrator to the one of master of ceremony," said Deputy Zenon Kulaga (PUWP).

The Prosecutor's Office in the inter-war period was a part of the administration of justice and the state functioned quite well—this opinion was voiced by Deputy Kazimierz Ujazdowski (DP).

Currently, it is theoretically supervised by the president, Earlier—by the Council of State, but it is a known fact that in practice it was then ruled by the PUWP and security service. That is why the change must take place, stated Deputy Wladyslaw Liwak (OKP).

Deputy Stanislaw Rogowski (Christian Social Union) had other doubts: Being in the structure of the government i.e.. the Ministry of Justice, will it not outgrow the powers of the minister of the justice? Will there a super-ministry appear? [sentence as received]

The government must reserve for itself the right to check whether the law is applied properly, Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski said in response. In the circumstances when the entire jurisdiction is independent of the justice minister, the government must be given a possibility of supervising, through, for instance, the so-called prosecutor's appeal. This would neither deprive the president of his powers nor create a super-ministry. The Prosecutor's Office should become one of Justice Ministry's departments.

Deputies referred to the temporary character of the proposed amendments, the lack of cohesion, etc. "Full cohesion can be reached in the new constitution and not on the road of ad hoc changes," Anna Suchocka (OKP) said.

It is our will to pass the bill without needless formalities to manifest in a joint gesture of all groups represented in the Sejm that we do care for democratic changes, Edward Rzepka (OKP) said.

We owe today's debate to the electorate from June 4 and 18, Andrzej Bratkowski (PUWP) said. Why hurry up, Polish society does not expect new year's gifts. We should take time and ask citizens about their opinion, Ireneusz Sekula (PUWP) opined.

We will wake up in a different country on January 2, and whatever gaps the draft law would have, it will be better by 150 percent than the earlier proposed amendments to the constitution, Andrzej Kern (OKP) said. We must bear in mind that delaying the evolution of the system may give rise to social anger, said Juliusz Braun (OKP).

The PUWP caucus does not want to delay the amending of the constitution, it only wants to avoid errors, Stanislaw Gabrielski (PUWP) stressed.

Serious objections voiced by PUWP and Pax deputies resulted also from the fact that drafters removed from the text of the binding constitution an article concerning armed forces.

A few deputies said it was necessary to more firmly stress the significance of the protection of individual property by the state than it had been made in the draft and to introduce the notion of state property as the inaccurate notion "social property" had been discredited.

The opinion, which seemed to be shared by nearly all speakers, was voiced during the discussion by Janusz Dobrosz (PSL-O) who said: We are liquidating the last relics of Stalinism in the fundamental law. It should become a real "catechism" of the state and its citizens.

### Sejm Approves Amendments

*LD2912234989 Warsaw PAP in English 2319 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Among the significant amendments to the constitution approved by the Sejm at its meeting here today there are those changing the official name of the state into the republic of poland, reinstating the white eagle in the crown against the red field as Poland's national emblem. They also say that the Republic of Poland is a democratic law-abiding country which carries out the principles of social justice. The supreme power is vested in the nation.

The deputies intoned Polish national anthem.

The debate on the approved amendments to the constitution lasted from the morning till late evening. President Wojciech Jaruzelski was present during the debate.

In the voting on the amendments to the draft amendment of the constitution submitted in the plenary debate only one of them received the required approval of the house.

In Article 85 speaking among other things about the role of trade unions as "a school of civic activeness and involvement in the building of the socialist society". The last two words were substituted by the phrase "citizens' society".

Thus, deputies voted down the motions which called for:

—emphasising that the state in its solicitude for the development of the nation, takes care of family, motherhood and the education of young generation, takes care of the health condition of society, guarantees comprehensive development of education, science and national culture,

—stating in the constitution that groups of citizens can form political parties,

—provision that the principles of setting up, financing and management of the property of political parties will be defined in detail by a law,

—submitting the prosecutor's offices to the sejm and the provision that national property is subject to particular protection.

before the voting on the final form of the approved amendments, in his statement made on behalf of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group, its chairman Marian Orzechowski said that the caucus deemed it necessary to promptly consider the bill on political parties and it was ready for a compromise in preparing such a legal act.

Orzechowski went on to say that the present amendment of the fundamental law meant profound changes of the socio-political system, but to fulfil the nation's aspirations it is necessary to work out a new constitution. The process of its creation should be fully democratic, coupled with a broad-based social discussion and the application of a referendum in deciding about the most crucial matters for the socio-political system.

We have the chance to enter the road of development which will unite us with Europe. Having this in mind the PUWP floor group will vote for amending the constitution in the form proposed by the Sejm legal committee, Orzechowski said.

Sejm passed the bill on amending the constitution with 374 votes for, one against and 11 abstentions.

Then, the floor was taken by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Deputy Aleksander Malachowski turned to the Sejm speaker with a motion that the Sejm Presidium send a congratulatory message to the newly elected President of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel.

### Senate Approves Changes

*LD3012215189 Warsaw PAP in English 1812 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 30—The Senate today made no reservations to the amendments to the Constitution introduced by the Sejm (lower house) yesterday.

The Senate passed a resolution on this matter with 79 votes for and 2 abstentions.

### Senate Approves Economic Package 29 Dec

*LD2912232189 Warsaw PAP in English 2208 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—The 15th two-day plenary meeting of the Senate started here today with a focus on the economic package, i.e. the laws passed by the Sejm during the last two days.

The Senate will also assume its stance on other laws including those which define the functioning and the organization of jurisdiction in the state.

It is expected that the Saturday agenda of Senate debates will also include the point concerning the amendment to the constitution providing that the Sejm approves the suggested changes in the fundamental law.

The Senate approved the laws on the creation of the office of the minister of agriculture and food industry and the minister of environmental protection, natural resources and forestry.

The Senate approved 10 out of 11 laws concerning economy including laws on the financial administration of state-owned enterprises, amendment to the banking law, amendments to the law marshalling the credit relations, customs and tax laws.

Senators lodged their objections only to the law on the specific conditions of dissolving labour contracts with employees because of the reasons concerning work establishments. The law will be returned to the Sejm with proposals of changes. The Senate will resume its debates tomorrow.

## State Security Department Dissolved by Decree

*AU0101205390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2003 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] By a decree signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of National Salvation Front, the department of the State Security has been dissolved.

## Surrender Deadline Extended for Secret Police

*AU2912210789 Paris AFP in English 2012 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 29 (AFP)—The provisional government of Romania on Friday extended its deadline for secret police officers to surrender and save their lives.

In an appeal broadcast on radio and television, the Army's Superior Council of the National Salvation Front (NSF) told the fugitives loyal to the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu that they still had time to surrender.

An original deadline gave them until 5 p.m. (1500 GMT) Thursday to hand themselves and their weapons over to the new government. Anyone failing to meet the deadline is to face a court martial and be executed immediately, the council said.

A high-ranking member of the deposed dictatorship returned meanwhile from Turkey Friday and presented himself to the NSF, officials in the Baltic port of Constanta said.

Former First Deputy Prime Minister Gorge Oprea, who travelled to Istanbul before Mr. Ceausescu fell from power on December 22, returned to Romania Friday, officials said.

Mr. Oprea, who returned aboard the Tirgu Leamtz after talks with Turkish authorities, presented himself to the National Salvation Front (NSF) that replaced the dictatorship.

Mr. Oprea was one of the four most important members of Mr. Ceausescu's government.

He returned with all the technicians who participated in the Turkish-Romanian talks as well as 21 experts who had accompanied the late dictator to Iran on December 18-20.

In another development, the National Farmers Party and the Christian National Democratic Party, both founded here this week, fused into one group that pledged to fight for democracy, party officials said Friday.

"The struggle for democracy is the new party's main goal," they said, adding that it would also seek "a free economy, religious liberty and equal rights for all citizens and for a new agricultural economy."

Romania plans to hold multi-party elections.

## Further on Abrogation Efforts; Appointments

### Government Decrees

*AU2912230089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Announcement of Decree-Law on the abrogation and modification of decrees and other norms—date and place not given]

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1—In order to immediately halt the application of some regulations issued during the period of the former dictatorial regime, the following regulations are abrogated and will remain abrogated.

1. Decree number 184 of 1 October 1974 regarding the commission taken at purchasing and selling hard currency for noncommercial operations.

2—Decree number 225 of 6 December 1974 on ensuring housing for foreigners who are temporarily residing in Romania.

3—Decree number 81 of 15 April 1977 on the manner in which Romanian citizens can offer services to foreign nationals, to their representatives, and foreigners who carry out their activity on Romanian territory.

4—Decree number 277 of 25 July 1979 on certain measures regarding the rationing of fuel consumption and the rational management of the car parking areas, articles 11, 19, and 20.

5—Decree number 408 on 26 December 1985 on certain measures regarding state secrets and on ways of establishing relations with foreigners.

6—The Grand National Assembly decision number 18 of 1972 on ways socialist organizations and their employees establish relations with diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, diplomatic offices, and organizations or representatives of foreign countries, or with foreign citizens.

Article 2. Article number 35 decree number 233 of 1974 regarding some rights and duties of Romanian citizens who receive their income in hard currency, as modified and completed through decree 159 of 1984, is being completed with a new paragraph which includes the following: sums of hard currency sent to Romanian citizens with the note "assistance fund Romania" can be integrally used in hard currency by the beneficiary.

Signed by NSF President Ion Iliescu

Through this decree, regulations regarding the duties of persons with permanent residence in socialist countries who travel to Romania, to exchange into lei at least $10 per day per person for the duration of their stay in Romania; the regulation prohibiting Romanian citizens from offering accomodation to foreigners who come to our country; the obligation of foreigners to get supply of gasoline and diesel oil for their private cars only for coupons payable only in hard currency; the regulation restricting the employment of certain Romanian citizens for services to foreign nationals; the regulation regarding the circulation of private cars alternatively on Sundays and the other nonworking days, in accordance with their license number—odd or even number—are being abrogated.

Decree-law on apprehending, trying, and sentencing infringement of the law.

Taking into consideration that during and after the period of actions of patriotic and democratic forces of the country to overthrow the Ceausescu dictatorial clan, certain elements carried out actions of ransacking, destruction, and arson of some economic units and social and cultural institutions; appropriation of goods with a particular value for the country's cultural heritage; and carried out robberies, larceny, and acts of violence against citizens and their goods, the NSC decrees:

Article 1. The sentences provided by the penal code for the following offenses will be increased by half of the maximum provided for such offenses:

a) theft - article 208;

b) organized theft - article 209;

c) larceny against public property - article 224;

d) criminal actions—article 211;

e) criminal actions damaging public property—article 225;

f) destruction—article 217;

g) organized destruction—article 218;

h) destruction of public property—article 231. When applying the increased sentence, stipulated under article 1, the overall maximum sentence to imprisonment cannot be exceeded.

Article 2. The apprehension and trial of offenses stipulated under article 1 will be urgently carried out, in accordance with special proceedure regarding obvious offenses

Signed by NSF President Ion Iliescu

Decree on the establishment of Electrical Engineering, Electronics, and data Processing Ministry.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. On the date of issuing the present decree, the Electrical Engineering, Electronics, and Data Processing Ministry is being established by reorganizing the Electrical Engineering Ministry, which is being dismantled.

Article 1: Anton Vatasescu is appointed minister of Electrical Engineering, Electronics, and Data Processing Ministry

Signed by NSF President Ion Iliescu

Decree. The NSF Council Decrees:

Article 1. Ioan Chesa is appointed minister of Metallurgical Industry

Article 2. Victor Murea is appointed minister of Petroleum

Article 3. Constantin Popescu is appointed Minister of Light Industry.

Signed by NSF President Ion Iliescu

### Abrogation of Laws

*AU3112182089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1103 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree-Law. In order to immediately remove from our country's legislation some legal regulations issued by the former dictatorship, which, through their discriminating and unjust nature have caused serious material and moral prejudices to the Romanian people, to the legitimate interests of all citizens, and to maintaining normal relations with the other states, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. The following normative acts are and remain abrogated.

1. Law No. 17 of 1968 on conditions for the remuneration of personnel holding management, technical-administrative, and specialized positions published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 80 of 22 June 1968.

2. Law No. 19 of 1968 on the judicial regime of plots of land without buildings in the area earmarked for construction in municipalities and towns published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 81 of 24 June 1968.

3. Articles 44, 50 of Law No. 59 of 1974 on land stocks published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 138 of 5 November 1974.

4. Decree No. 223 of 1974 on the situation of some assets published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 152 of 6 December 1974.

5. Law No. 1 of 1975 on the oath of loyalty and allegiance to the Socialist Republic of Romania published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 30 of 21 March 1975.

6. Decree No. 51 of 1975 on establishing the program of operation of trade outlets and public catering units published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 50 of 30 May 1975.

7. Law No. 25 of 1976 on employing able bodied people for useful work published BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 98 of 11 November 1976.

8. Decree No. 189 of 1976 on certain measures regarding the conclusion of judicial acts concerning the nation's

patrimony by personnel in certain central and local state and public bodies and in other state institutions published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 54 of 28 June 1977.

9. Article 64, item T, of Law No. 5 of 1978 on the organization and management of state socialist units and on their organization on the basis of workers self-management and self-administration published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 56 of 12 July 1978.

10. Decree No. 367 of 1980 on measures regarding the rational utilization of personnel in socialist units, which was not published.

11. Decree No. 306 of 1981 on measures to prevent and combat deeds that affect the proper supply of the population published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 77 of 9 October 1981.

12. Decree No. 402 of 1982 on the obligation of people, who definitively request to settle abroad and whose request is approved, to fully pay the debts they have toward the state, socialist organizations, and physical persons, and to pay back certain expenses covered by the state regarding their schooling published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 95 of 1 November 1982.

13. Law No. 3 of 1983 on the contract-commitment published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 51 of 9 July 1983.

14. Decree No. 96 of 1983 on the sale of agricultural produce by individual producers and certain measures to ensure the observance of maximum market prices published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 19 of 20 March 1983.

15. The provisions regarding the obligation of contracting and delivery of agricultural produce and the plan on crops and animal breeding included in Decree No. 69 of 1984 on contracting and the acquisition of vegetables and in Decree No. 70 of 1984 on the contracting and acquisition of animals, poultry, and animal products published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 16-17 of 1 March 1984.

16. Presidential Decree No. 208 of 1985 regarding the declaration of an emergency state and military regime in the national energy units published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 50 of 18 October 1985.

17. Law No. 3 of 1989 on prohibiting foreign credits published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 14 of 25 April 1989.

18. Article 134 of the Civil Code introduced from Decree No. 80 of 31 March 1950 to amend Article 134, 139, and 166 of the Civil Code published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No. 31 of 31 March 1950.

19. Article No. 253 of the Penal Code on the refusal to return to the country.

20. Decree No. 358 of 1948 on establishing the legal status of the former Greek-Catholic cult.

21. Article 36 of Decree No. 210 of 1960 on the regime of foreign payment means.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

This decree abrogates laws regarding:

Situations in which unpaid-for work is carried out; restriction of the rights of physical or judicial persons to make use of their own lands; restriction of the circulation of agricultural lands by limiting the utilization capability of people and the restriction of the right to owning them; limitation of the activity of trade outlets and public catering units; dispositions on forced labor, which is prohibited both through the international treaty on civilian and political rights and by international conventions adopted within the International Labor Organization.

Limitation of the right of some categories of physical persons to conclude sale and purchase documents or documents on donations; the right of general meetings in socialist and state units to decide on the dissolving of the labor contract of any employee, without submitting this decision to the control of judicial bodies.

Norms that limit the right of the management of socialist units to fill vacant jobs, thus hampering the proper unfolding of the activity, because vacant jobs were blocked and other people could not be employed.

Constraints caused to man's basic right to free movement; the limitation for individual producers of agricultural produce to enjoy the fruits of their work.

Establishment of compulsory quotas for cooperative and private farmers, thus seriously hampering individual initiative.

Violation of the principle of concluding free marriage contracts, this being conditioned on a preliminary authorization in case a Romanian citizen wanted to marry a foreign citizen.

The unjustified punishing of citizens, who did not agree with the dictatorship, chose freedom, and settled in another country, and of people who received and own foreign currency.

The abusive interdiction of the Greek-Catholic cult, thus violating one of the basic human rights—the freedom of creed.

### Decree on Establishing Government

*AU3112121289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1103 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Esteemed listeners, here are some decree-laws of particular importance issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], which we invite you to listened to carefully.

Decree-Law on the Establishment, Organization, and Operation of the Government of Romania.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. On the date of the present Decree-Law the Government of Romania is established as a supreme state administration body.

Article 2. The Government of Romania manages the administration activity throughout the country in general being obligated to fulfill the goals included in the NSF Program and to ensure the application of the measures established by the decrees adopted by it.

Article 3. The composition of the Government of Romania is endorsed by the NSF at the proposal of the prime minister.

The prime minister is appointed by the NSF.

Article 4. The Government of Romania, in its entirety and each of its members, are responsible to the NSF.

Article 5. In honoring the responsibilities assigned it, the government adopts decisions including obligatory measures in all areas of the social and economic activity. The government decisions are adopted with a simple majority of votes of its members; they are signed by the prime minister and are published in the MONITORUL OFICIAL.

Article 6. The NSF may cancel government decisions when it believes that they are at variance with the laws and decrees in force or at variance with the interests of the people.

Article 7. The government will form an executive bureau to effectively solve problems and to pursue how measures taken are being applied.

Article 8. The government has a General Secretariat, led by the general secretary of the government, who participates in its meetings.

The duties and way of work of the General Secretariat will be established by the government.

Article 9. Any dispositions at variance with the present Decree- Law are abrogated.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

## Decree on Patriotic Guards

*AU3112132289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1103 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on Placing Patriotic Guards and Youth Training for the Defense of the Homeland Under the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Sole Article. Until a new regulation is formulated, the general staff of patriotic guards will be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense.

The general staffs of partiotic guards of the former county, municipal, town, and communal committees, those of Bucharest districts and of certain economic organizations, enterprises, and institutions, will work within county military centers and will be under the jurisdiction of the general staff of patriotic guards.

At the same time, youth training for the homeland's defense will also be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

## Decree on Registration of Parties

*AU3112133689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1103 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree-Law on Registration and Operation of Political Parties and of Public Organizations in Romania.

To achieve a genuinely democratic society in Romania, to ensure and defend the basic rights of citizens, and to achieve the principle of political pluralism, on the basis of Article 2, item A of the Decree-Law regarding the establishment, organization, and operation of the Council of National Salvation Front [NSF] and of the local NSF councils, the NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. The establishment of political parties is free in Romania, with the exception of fascist parties or parties promoting concepts at variance with the state and legal order in Romania.

No other restrictions for reasons of race, nationality, religion, level culture, sex, or political convictions may prevent the establishment and operation of political parties.

The registration and operation of political parties proceeds in conformity with the provisions of the present decree-law.

Article 2. The organization and operation of political parties proceeds in conformity with their statutes solely on a local basis. A person may not participate in two or more political parties at the same time. The aim of political parties and of public organizations must be based on observance of national sovereignty, independence, and integrity, and on democracy in order to ensure the freedoms and rights of the citizens and the assertion of the Romanian nation's dignity.

The means of achieving the aims of political parties and public organizations must be in conformity with the state and legal order in Romania.

Article 3. To register, each party and public organization has to present its organization and operation statutes, its political program, and declare its headquarters and the financial means at its disposal, and has to prove that it incorporates at least 251 members.

Article 4. The registration of political parties is made at the Tribunal of Bucharest Municipality, which, within 5 days, will pronounce on the legality of their establishment.

An appeal can be lodged against the decision of the Tribunal of Bucharest Municipality at the Supreme Court within 3 days of the communication of the decision.

The Supreme Court will decide within 5 days of the date of the registration of the appeal.

From the date of the definitive decision on the admittance and registration, political parties acquire juridical status.

Article 5. Military cadres and civilian staff in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior, judges, prosecutors, and diplomats, as well as the operative personnel of the free Romanian radio and television stations may not be members of political parties.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Decree on Establishing Ministeries

*AU3112152189 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on the Establishment of Certain Central Bodies.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree the Ministry of Education is established through the reorganization of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, which will be dissolved.

Article 2. Mihai Sora is appointed minister of education.

Article 3. On the date of the present decree the Ministry of Sports is established

Article 4. Mircea Angelescu is appointed minister of sports.

Article 5. Ioan Aurel Stoica is appointed minister of machine-building industry.

Article 6. On the date of the present decree the National Statistics Commission is set up through the reorganization of the Central Statistics Directorate, which is dissolved.

Article 7. Petru Pepelea is appointed president of the National Statistics Commission in the position of minister secretary of state.

Article. 8. On the date of the present decrees the National Commission for Standards and Quality is set up, incorporating the Romanian Standardization Institute, the National Institute of Metrology, and the State Office for Inventions and Trademarks.

Article 9. Mihail Victor Buracu is appointed president of the National Commission for Standards and Quality in the position of minister secretary of state.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Decree Dissolves Central Bodies

*AU3112152389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on Dissolving Certain Central Bodies.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Sole Article. On the date of the present decree the following bodies are dissolved:

a) National Committee for Science and Technology;

b) General State Inspectorate for Investment and Construction;

c) General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Decree Dissolves Agricultural Ministry

*AU3112152489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on Dissolving the Ministry of Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce is dissolved.

Article 2. The Following departments in the structure of the former Ministry of Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce will be reorganized:

a) The General Economic Directorate for Contracting, Procurement, Reception, Storage, and Delivery of Grains and Industrial Plants is placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

b) The Economic Directorate for Contracting, Procurement, Reception, Conservation, and Delivery of hides, furs, wool, flax and hemp fibers, cotton, and other products are placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Light Industry.

c) The State Reserves Office for Agricultural Produce and Foodstuffs is place under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Economy.

Article 3. The Central Department for Fodder Concentrates is transferred from the former Ministry of Contracting and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Decree Dissolves State Committee

*AU3112153889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on dissolving the State Committee for Nuclear Energy and establishment of the Institute for Nuclear Physics.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree, the State Committee for Nuclear Energy is dissolved.

The duties of the committee in the area of nuclear energy will be taken over by the Ministry of Electric Power.

Article 2. On the date of the present decree, the Bucharest Institute of Nuclear Physics is established, under the jurisdiction of the government, by taking over the research units under the jurisdiction of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, with the exception of the Pitesti-Colibasi Institute of Nuclear Reactors, which is placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Electric Power.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Decree on Industrial Central

*AU3112154889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Decree on moving the Bucharest Industrial Central for Machine-Tools from under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Electrical Engineering, Electronics, and Information Technology to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Machine-Building.

The Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Sole Article. On the date of the present decree, the Bucharest Industrial Central for Machine-Tools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Electrical Engineering, Electronics, an Information Technology is placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Machine-Building.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

### Social Dialogue Group Established

*AU3112174189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1637 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["Setting Up of the Group For Social Dialogue"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—The group for social dialogue has been set up in Bucharest. The declaration on the group's foundation defines it as an "instance of critical meditation on the fundamental issues of concern to the civil Romanian society, on its integration in the European context", "a club of debate among intellectuals of various professions", "a laboratory in which economists, sociologists, politologists, historians, philosophers, urbanists, writers, theologicians, etc. should seek and find together the strategies and solutions the civil Romanian society will need in the immediate future".

The group will organize open debates in various social categories.

The group declares that it is independent, does not subordinate itself to any political group or orientation and "refuses any collaboration with people who supported the old regime".

The group includes cultural personalities like Doina Cornea, Petru Cretia, Mircea Dinescu, Stefan Augustin Doinas, Gabriel Liceanu, Alexandru Paleologu, Dan Petrescu, Andrei Plesu, Mihai Sora.

Writer Stelian Tanase is the group's spokesman.

### AGERPRES on Changes

*AU3012235689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 30 Dec 89*

["Newly Created Economic Ministries and Governmental Appointments"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—Under a decree of the Council of National Salvation Front the Ministry of Electrical Engineering, Electronics and Informatics has been set up with Anton Vatasescu as its minister.

The same body decreed the appointment of Ioan Chesa as minister of Metallurgical Industry, of Victor Muresan as minister of oil, and Constantin Popescu as minister of light industry.

### Decree on Repatriation

*AU0101155690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] In order to implement the measures proclaimed in the program of the National Salvation Front [NSF]; of the ideals of social justice, legality, and democracy; in the spirit of respect for the rights and freedoms of people, including the right of free movement, the NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. The right to repatriation is guaranteed to Romanian citizens abroad who wish to return and settle in Romania.

Article 2. The right to repatriation is also recognized in the case of former Romanian citizens who can regain Romanian citizenship through the right of repatriation [words indistinct].

Article 3. Parents decide for their under age children in matters regarding citizenship. A child who has reached the age of 14 must (?give his/her consent).

Article 4. Persons who repatriate themselves within the framework of the present decree and adopt Romanian citizenship benefit from all political, economic, and social rights granted by law to Romanian citizens.

Article 5. A person of Romanian citizenship and desirous of obtaining repatriation but who is not in possession of proof of Romanian citizenship has the right to a passport as soon as the matter of his/her citizenship is clarified.

Article 6. Persons desirous of obtaining repatriation must hand in their applications to the Romanian diplomatic missions and consular offices or directly to the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Article 7. The Foreign Affairs Ministry approves repatriation applications in conjunction with the organs appointed by the law to deal with matters regarding the residence of foreigners.

Article 8. Obtaining Romanian citizenship by one spouse has no bearing on the citizenship of the other spouse. The spouse bearing foreign citizenship may request Romanian citizenship according to the law.

Article 9. Persons who are repatriated benefit from custom exception for all assets obtained abroad.

Article 10. Persons repatriated regain the pension rights they had before leaving the country.

Article 11. Repatriated Romanian citizens have priority in obtaining housing/property payments, through state organizations.

## Roman Issues Decrees, Relieves Ministers

*AU0101141090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Here are some decisions signed by Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The following are appointed deputy ministers of the national economy:

Alexandru Badescu, Constantin Bostina, Dumitru Vreapan, Constantin Scaloianu, Traian Crapet, Colonel Constantin Dinca, also chief of the General Directorate of State Reserves, Gheorghe Ghiaus, Colonel Victor Nastase, Dumitru Popescu, Bujor Rosca, Gheorghe Panca, Mihail Penea, and Nicolae Vacaroiu.

The following are relieved of their positions as stated:

Lieutenant General Alexandru Danescu, vice chairman of the State Planning Committee and chief of the General Directorate of State Reserves, for reasons of retirement.

Vasile Iorgulescu from his position of deputy minister of Material-Technical Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets.

## Prime Minister Interviewed on Government Tasks

*AU3012202689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1818 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman at the end of the first government meeting in Bucharest on 30 December]

[Text] [Interviewer] The first meeting of the government of free Romania concluded a few minutes ago. We are talking with Prime Minister Petre Roman.

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, what we would like to know is how the meeting took place, what issues have been discussed. [two people speaking at the same time; passage indistinct]

[Another unidentified speaker] We have also participated in the meeting, and the spirit in which the problems were discussed [words indistinct].

[Roman] I am pleased with the way in which the meeting was held. According to initial indications, it seems that we were not mistaken about the manner in which we set up our team, and I am pleased that, as a matter of fact, we form a team. The people here are of good faith, who were elected first of all on the basis of their competence.

[Interviewer] As a matter of fact, this word came up constantly during the discussions.

[Roman] Yes, I said from the very beginning that given the outdated and difficult structures that the old regime left us, our number one requirement is intelligence and competence, and certainly the spirit of opening provided by the revolutionary movement which is [word indistinct].

[Unidentified speaker] No doubt you approached, so to say, the urgent problems of the economy.

[Roman] We did not necessarily approach urgent problems. We approached problems which make it look as if we are living from one day to another, but this is not true. We approached major issues regarding ties in the economy [word indistinct]. There are various issues, but I do not think that now is the right time to enumerate them. However, what I can tell you is that each minister is duty-bound to explain in the press the problems that are raised and are not understood by people.

[Interviewer] We will not delay in calling on all members of the government to find out the details. But at the end of this short interview with you, I would like to ask whether you have looked at future prospects or matters of principle.

[Roman] We have tried to establish a connection with our future prospects, but not on matters of principle, because this would be difficult in these times, when the government itself is confronted with issues that should be resolved. However, we have approached the issue of [future] prospects only as regards our tasks or activity of a new nature, which were impossible in the old regime, but which have to be possible now—activities which are, no doubt, profitable and which can be for the benefit of our economy.

[Interviewer] Mr Prime Minister, we thank you very much for this first interview granted to Free Romanian Radio...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] We have listened to it with great pleasure and we thank you for it.

[Interviewer] And we certainly will call on you again.

[Another Unidentified speaker] Thank you.

### Roman Interviewed by Daily ADEVARUL

*AU3112180189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1623 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["Interview by Romanian Prime Minister"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—In an interview granted with the daily ADEVARUL which it publishes in its December 31 issue, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman mentions that the government is still in a period of organization, of stabilization, its activity being chiefly political. "We take care," the prime minister states, "that clear people, that did not belong to the old regime, be members of our government. Anyway, the essential criterium we have pursued is competence. Sure, we have to carry on our activity within superseded structures, but there are not different ones for the time being".

He highlighted the important place held by the young people in the new process in Romania, assessing that the representatives of the young generations, people aged between 30 and 40 must be in the leadership structures based on the same essential criterium—competence.

Referring to the separation of the executive power from the legislative one and the political power respectively, the Romanian prime minister shows: "Our efforts pursue the maintenance and even consolidation of the national consensus, of the spirit that allowed for the triumph of the revolution. We will allow any constructive political tendency that should help in rebuilding the country. It is a new form of political pluralism so to say".

Answering a question as to whether the trial and execution so fast of the criminal couple was really necessary the prime minister shows: "Absolutely necessary. The risks were great. Very sure intelligence indicated that paratrooper forces were ready to invade the place, not very well protected, where the dictator was kept. Still more blood would have been shed which, you understand, had to be prevented."

In another sequence of ideas, Premier Petre Roman opines that the present free press in Romania does not succeed, for the time being, at least in form, to reflect what the revolution means, namely this quite new thing.

## Interim Government 1st Cabinet Meeting 30 Dec

### Roman Chairs Meeting

*AU3012180789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 30 Dec 89*

["The Romanian Government's First Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3012/1989—Today 30 December, the first plenary meeting of the Romanian cabinet started at 4:00 [1400 GMT] p.m. under the chairmanship of Petre Roman, representatives of Romania's Foreign Ministry told foreign journalists at a press conference arranged at Bucharest's Intercontinental Hotel.

There is no pre-established agenda for this first meeting which is an opportunity for cabinet members to know one another.

### Iliescu Address to Meeting

*AU3112004589 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Statements by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Council, at the first meeting of the Romanian Government in Bucharest on 30 December]

[Summary From Poor Reception] At the beginning of the meeting, Prime Minister Roman invites Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF], to speak. Iliescu begins speaking about the revolution as "a special, sudden, and violent event which has eliminated the despotic power."

Then he says, "In the process of structuring the new elements of power, the Front, which emerged spontaneously at the moment of the explosion and which represents the soul of this process, assumed the responsibility of taking over power and becoming the representative of the new (?power)." The Front "called on all of those who contributed to the founding of this organ" to understand "that we have to rely on the structure of the existing administrative power and of local administrations to ensure the continuity of the process."

He then says that "taking all of the necessary measures that will get the economy moving and return the flow of economic activity throughout the country to normal is the priority task of the government." He says that the manner in which the country was managed caused great damage; "the information system had totally deteriorated, and it was based on gross lies." He says, "From data that we recently gathered, we see that 60 million tonnes of grain only amount to 16 million tonnes." He says that he is not familiar with all of the details because ties between local agricultural bodies and the respective ministry were severed, and experts were not allowed to check on the yields.

He says that "economic activity needs to be cleansed of all of those distortions" that appeared in the past and "economic activity should be based on the concrete knowledge of realities in our economy and on the real balance of resources in our nationwide economy." He says that the bad things in the economy lead to the "general dissatisfaction of the population." He says that regulations and measures are needed to get socioeconomic activity moving. Formerly, some steps were taken but these "caused tension. Even when some problems could have been solved in an appropriate way, the measures that were taken generated difficulties." He believes that "we should ensure that there is bread for the population" and edible oil, "without the phenomena that we have witnessed lately, like long lines for bread."

He says that Ceausescu "was boasting that for the first time peasants received 200 kg wheat per person in cooperatives, but that amount has not been distributed." Iliescu provides some figures to show how impossible Ceausescu's inflated data on agriculture were. Nevertheless, he says, "We will not be able to eliminate certain regulations in the field of edible oil, sugar, and other goods." "I would like the Ministry of Agriculture to also examine the issue of ensuring that there is fodder in the livestock breeding complexes, because the difficult situation concerning the supply of meat to the population is caused by the fact that proper nutrition was not ensured." Iliescu again provides some figures on the fodder situation, discussing it with some other people at the meeting, whose voices can be heard in the meeting hall, but cannot be understood. He speaks about the importance of ensuring that there is the appropriate fodder for all animals "and about other aspects that we should examine, so that in the field of ensuring that there is the appropriate supply of goods to the people, both in towns and in villages, we will continuously improve the situation."

Iliescu continues by speaking about industry. "Unfortunately, we inherited very little in connection with the structure of our industry, without a serious study of our capabilities and of our possible resources," and "with a technological backwardness which continued to aggravate the situation in the past years, with the restrictions introduced for the import of technology and equipment." He believes that since there is no real picture of the current situation in the industrial sector, it is difficult to define the priorities. Iliescu requests that "the plan indicators should be reviewed and the production plan for 1990 should be based on a more realistic foundation."

Then he speaks about the importance of definite actions in the enterprises and says, "The political representative power should be severed from the executive power." He believes that "we should put an end to the practice in which the management of the enterprise belonged to a person who did not have material responsibilities. I am talking about a party person."

Iliescu says that in enterprises it should be certain that "the representatives of the masses really contribute to finding solutions to problems." For the future he believes that "we should find a way to set up a collective body in which the administrative management, manager, deputy manager, chief engineer, and chief accountant should be represented," as well as the representatives of the Front committee, and they should cooperate for the success of the overall activity.

Iliescu says that priority should be given "to solving problems connected to restoring some installations which have suffered" and to "problems connected with rebuilding towns and buildings."

Then he talks about the distribution of certain foodstuffs, saying, "I have ordered that priority should be given to ensuring supplies for hospitals, old people's homes, children's homes, and for the families of victims." However, he thinks that "there are problems that we will not be able to solve urgently, and we call on the assistance of citizens" to reach the targets that have been set.

## More on Iliescu Speech

*AU3012214689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 30 Dec 89*

["The Romanian Government's Working Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—The Romanian Government met in its first working session Saturday 30 December.

Attending the session, the president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, Ion Iliescu spoke about the main tasks of the government so that life may return to normal as quickly and as efficiently as possible throughout the country. Of great importance in that direction are a review of next year's plan and its correction so as to set it on a realistic basis and closely relate it to the possibilities, to the country's development requirements, to the on-going process of renewal in Romania.

A number of current aspects of the situation in the country were discussed during the session and practical measures were agreed in order to remove the effects of the recent tragic events, to quicken the pace of normalization in all fields, to solve intelligently and competently the problems of the most efficient growth and modernization of the economy, of the everyday life of urban and rural citizens.

## NSF Communique Actions Taken

*AU3112141089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1307 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Communique. As has been reported, on 27 December 1989 a meeting was held by the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. As the first point on the agenda of this meeting, the NSF President Ion Iliescu, reported on the actions carried out and on the measures taken in the first days after the outbreak of the revolutionary struggle.

The Council endorsed the report and the measures adopted and established priority actions that have to be taken for the immediate period.

The Council then discussed and endorsed the decree-law on its organization and operation, which has been published.

The Council also discussed the structure of the Executive Bureau of the NSF Council, the composition of which is the following:

President—Ion Iliescu

First Deputy President—Dumitru Mazilu

Vice Presidents—Cazimir Ionescu and Carol Kiraly

Secretary—Dan Martian.

Members—Bogdan Teodoriu, Vasile Neacsa, Silviu Brucan, Georghe Manole, Ion Caramitru, Nicolae Radu.

Working commissions of the Council were also established.

1. Commission for Economic Reconstruction and Development: president—Bogdan Teodoriu.

2. Constitutional, Juridical, and Human Rights Commission: president—Dumitru Mazilu.

3. Commission for Youth Affairs: president—Vasile Neacsa.

4. Commission for Environment and Ecological Balance: president—Cazimir Ionescu.

5. Commission for Science and Education: president—Gheorghe Manole.

6. Commission for Culture: president—Ion Caramitru.

7. Commission for National Minorities: president—Carol Kiraly.

8. Commission for Foreign Policy: president—Silviu Brucan.

9. Commission for Local Administration: president—Nicolae Radu.

10. Organizational Commission: coordinator—Mihail Montanu

11. Council Authorization Commission: coordinator—Sergiu Nicolaescu.

12. Collective for Public Relations and Mass Media: Dan Radulescu, Cristina Ciontu, and Florin Badinici.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

## Ministry of Interior Cadres Removed, Investigated

*AU3112152789 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1410 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] The Council of the National Salvation Front communicates: On 31 December 1989 the following persons have been removed from within active Army ranks and detained for investigation:

Colonel General Iulian Vlad, former head of the Department of State Security

Lieutenant General Gianu Bucurescu, former deputy minister of interior

Lieutenant General Aristotel Stamatoiu, former deputy minister of interior

Lieutenant General Gheorghe Vasile, former head of directorate in the Ministry of Interior

## Iliescu Issues New Year Address to People

*AU3112220789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2057 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["New Year Speech by Made Ion Iliescu, President of the Council of the National Salvation Front, Over the Romanian Radio and Television Stations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—Dear citizens of Romania, we are close to the end of a year that has marked a historic turning point for our country. By the unflinching will of the masses and the resolute action of the youth the personal dictatorship of Ceausescu, that inflicted tremendous damage on the country and unspeakable suffering on the Romanian people was overthrown. After long years of amassing of profound social tensions a genuine explosion of popular discontent and fury forced the dictator to fly. But he could no longer evade the inevitable and served punishment. Unfortunately, this liberation was won at the cost of a painful tribute of blood. The monstrous apparatus of repression, thought out and organized at the service of the dictator, fired at the demonstrators in Timisoara, then, after the dictator's flight, troops of terrorists operated in the capital and in other cities in the country to destabilize the new power spontaneously generated by the mass movement, a power that has just taken shape. But, no attempt of the remains of the old regime is capable of turning back the wheel of history again. The process that has occurred is irreversible. The popular revolution has triumphed and it will remain unvanquishable.

I want to take this opportunity to pay homage to all those who sacrificed themselves for the cause of the revolution, to all those who actively participated in the siege on and removal of the dictatorship. I once more want to repeat the valuation due to our Army and to the troops of the Ministry of the Interior who have remained truthful to the people and have defended the revolution. The most remarkable fact of this revolutionary turning point is the whole people's wide consensus expressed also in the wide adhesion to the platform of the National Salvation Front, an expression of the popular will for its own reconstruction and renewal. With the new year we want to step in a new stage of the revolutionary process. While further keeping vigil against all those who would try to prevent the process of the country's rebirth we must concentrate on the constructive objectives of the revolution. In order to stress the profoundly popular and humanist character of the new regime that has came into being, the leadership of the National Salvation Front has decided the abolition of the death penalty in compliance with the proposals come from the masses and with the thought expressed by a group of students that the two dictators were the last persons that deserved this fate. This does not mean less vigilance. All those guilty of crimes will have a tough trial. One of the first preoccupations of the new power, as could be seen these days, was to annul the anti-popular laws imposed by the old regime, as well as a first package of measures to improve the people's living conditions. Legal provisions that hindered the activity of the economic units were annulled, as a first step toward the removal of the excessive centralism and as a beginning of decentralization.

Laws and decrees that seriously maimed the liberties of the individuals—the human rights—were abrogated. Concrete steps were taken to improve the population's supply with food, energy and heat. The amounts of electricity and natural gas earmarked to the population in this period are by 40-45 percent bigger than in the relevant period of last year. The export of food has been stopped and the stocks in existence in the enterprises of the food and light industry and of other branches producing consumer goods are delivered to commercial units. The import of consumer goods has been provided for. The tariff of electricity supplied to the population has been cut down and the natural gas tariff too, is to be cut down to the stipulated level. The stopping has been decided of expensive works of investments promoted without surveys of economic substantiation upon the order of the former megalomaniac dictator. I will quote only a few of them: the development of the Arges River for navigation and other uses, the so-called Danube-Bucharest Canal, with a total value of over 25 billion lei, of which some eleven billion have already been executed, the Danube-Jiu-Arges hydrotechnical development with a value of over four billion, the building of the free zone in the port of Constanta, with a value of over 20 billion, the thermoelectric power plant working on bituminous schists at Anina, worth over 11 billion of which 7.5 billion have been executed, the works on the Republic House have totalled so far over six billion lei. Adding to these are many other projects in mining, metallurgy, chemistry and other branches that will be stopped and their efficiency minutely analyzed. The thus released means will be channeled toward the repair of the places destroyed or damaged by the counterrevolution in the capital and in other cities in the country. The government has been instructed to investigate and come up with measures for the passage next March to the work week of five days.

Likewise, the leadership of the National Salvation Front and the government decided a string of measures in support of agriculture and of peasantry. Checking the false figures reported with regard to this year's farm production which the dictator boasted so loud, we can inform that the cereal production is not of 60 million tonnes but only of 16.9 million tonnes. The real all-country average productions are as follows: wheat and rye 3,170 kg/hectare instead of the 8,880 kg/hectare reported in the press at that time. The production of barley is 4,645 kg/hectare instead of 7,380 kg; with corn beans 1,913 kg/hectare instead of 16,500 kg corncobs as reported; with sunflower 1,300 kg/hectare instead of the reported 5,635; with sugar beets 24,700 kg/hectare instead of 100,000; with winter potatoes 14,100 kg/hectare instead of 81,295. It is clear in fact to everybody that the euphoria of lie which seized the despot led to aberrant, incredible figures.

We want to put an end forever to lies in the economic and social practice and severely sanction all those who will try to practice it again. Our whole economic and social policy must rely upon the real knowledge of things, upon the truth. In order to stimulate the agricultural units and the peasantry in the 1990 agricultural year the council of the Front and the government have already established several practical measures. So, steps have been established to assign arable lands for long farming use to the members of the agricultural cooperatives in the economically poorly developed hilly, mountainous and pretown areas, as well as to other inhabitants in the respective commune or villages. The arable areas will be assigned to able-bodied persons that can work and get good production without hiring manpower. The areas of pastures and hayfields will be used as communal pastures. The cooperative farms in those zones can have actions of cooperation on a contract basis with the cooperative members who want to take over animals for exploitation, on condition that they should deliver at least 70 percent of the production obtained to the contracting units. The animals that will not be taken over under such actions of cooperation or that cannot be kept by the cooperative farms can be sold to other farm units.

The general meetings of the cooperative producer farms in the other zones of the country can decide the extension of the plots for use up to 5,000 sq.m. for every cooperative member or mechanical operator and other workers of the farm machinery stations, on condition that they perform the volume of work established by the latter. Likewise, the general meetings can assign plots for use under the above conditions also to those who want to return to the village and become cooperative members. The general meetings can assign plots for use up to 2,500 sq.m. per family also to other persons who live in the commune or in the neighbouring towns and are not cooperative members but commit themselves to pay tax and cultivate the land well. The state farming units can assign for use to their workers farm lands of up to 5,000 sq.m. of their own area or of the area of the cooperative or state farm units where they have stable residence, with the respective units' approval. In the cooperativized zones, the land for the living house, the outbuildings and the yard around them is the private property of the holders with right of heritage and alienation.

On establishing the area of these yards account will be taken of the situation in existence before the issuance of the Laws No 58 and 59 of 1974. This area, together with the plot assigned for use, shall not exceed 6,000 sq.m. for the holder of the living house. In connection with the sale of the farm produce too, several measures are provided for: the holders of land for farm use or as private property may freely sell, without mercurial prices the produce obtained from those areas both in the market and based on contracts concluded with the specialized units in mutually advantageous conditions. Likewise, the holders of animals and poultry may freely sell the products obtained from them and without a mercurial price if they fulfilled their obligations assumed under contract. The slaughtering of the cattle can be done only in authorized slaughterhouses.

The state, through the farm mechanization stations and other units will support all holders of farm land, performing mechanized works with payment in kind and cash. Also, the farm producers will be assisted by specialized units to get seeds, seedling, fertilizers, pest killers, reproduction animals, seminal material, fodder, household equipment, and assistance.

Dear fellow countrymen, the situation inherited from the old regime in economy and in the social life is difficult. In the next period we will have to surmount numerous hardships in order to remake the country's economy. We will have to work hard, united in order to overcome all difficulties, and ensure the reconstruction and prosperity of the national economy. Only united can we further vanquish. It is the appeal addressed by the National Salvation Front to the whole country, hoping that it will be widely reverberated in all strata of the population.

It must be clear for all of us that the removal of the tyranny and the conquering of freedom are not enough. By far more difficult is to consolidate these gains and deploy practical activity for the country's progress. The Council of the National Salvation Front, concomitant with the drafting of the new Constitution and of the election law, in view of organizing free elections in spring, as it has pledged to, will further work both for the settlement of immediate, current questions of the economic and social life to the people's benefit, and for the elaboration of the guidelines of the long-term economic strategy, for giving the country's economy sound foundations in harmony with the economic laws and with our country's realities.

A guideline in everything the National Salvation Front undertakes has to be the promotion of democracy in all spheres of social life, a genuine participation of the masses in decision making and their control of the leading factors. We will also promote the Front's program-like ideas regarding the achievement of a large, novel political pluralism, relying not only upon the existence of several parties, but also upon a genuine assertion of a broad democratic framework in which all tendencies, all interests and all values may be manifest, and all creative forces of the country may be involved in constructive work. In promoting these ideas we are not the slaves of any ideology, of any preconceived idea, of any prefabricated models. We want to conduct an open and permanent dialogue with all forces, with all those interested in Romania's progress, irrespective of political color, of nationality or religious belief. We want to provide best conditions for the removal of all barriers, of all sources of tensions and misunderstandings, for a really fraternal collaboration among all nationalities who live together in Romania's territory.

In international life, Romania will stand out with dignity as a promoter of the ideas of international peace and collaboration. We will observe all international obligations both toward neighbours and toward the international treaties and organizations we are a party to. At the same time, we will promote broad opening to the world, removing all barriers imposed by the old regime, actively developing the collaboration, first of all with the European countries, but also with the other states of the world.

Citizens, may the year 1990, the last year of this century's last decade, mark a genuine leap in Romania's and Romanian people's life, toward a new stage of progress and welfare, a radical renewal in the country's economic, social and spiritual life.

In behalf of the Council of the National Salvation Front I wish here too, all citizens of Romania, young and old, men and women, children, "a happy New Year."

## Deputy Foreign Minister Bogdan Dies of Stroke

*LD0201085190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Excerpt] News has come from Bucharest of the unexpected death of Romanian Deputy Foreign Minister

Corneliu Bogdan, who assumed office a few days ago. The death of the 68-year-old politician was caused by a stroke. [passage omitted]

### Civil Servant Executed in Oradea

*LD0101183390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Text] Although the death sentence [in Romania] has been abolished as of this day, a civil servant in Oradea has, nevertheless, been shot dead because he embezzled a proportion of the food aid entrusted to him.

### Nicu Ceausescu Stabbed by Unidentified Assailant

*LD3112192889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] In Bucharest, the son of the dictator has been wounded, but his life is not in danger. Nicu Ceausescu was stabbed in the stomach by an unidentified person, who has since been arrested. You may already have seen on Friday the pictures you see now concerning the arrest of the crown prince. After the attack, incidentally, Nicu Ceausescu underwent a successful operation.

### 500 Securitate Men Await Trial in Timisoara

*AU3112194389 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Report by Klaus Edlinger on interview with Major Petru Izdrescu, military state prosecutor in Timisoara, in Timisoara on 31 December]

[Text] On the last day of the year, the people of Timisoara particularly remember their dead. However, the people of Timisoara are also trying to return to normal and they are preparing for the change of the year.

For those who were in power before, the situation is getting increasingly critical. In the military prison of Timisoara, more than 500 Securitate people are looking forward to a most deadly future. They are waiting to be court-martialed. We have heard that many were found in the possession of drugs that dispel one's fear of death.

Military State Prosecutor Major Petru Izdrescu is the prosecutor in the trial. He told us that all of them should to be given a fair trial. He said that they claim that they are innocent. Those about whom it can be proved that they fought against the people during the revolution will be shot. It was difficult to get this interview with the military state prosecutor. However, afterwards he even showed us the courtroom where the trials will take place. He showed us where the judge sits, and he told us that he usually sits right in front of him. He said that the defendant sits in a separate corner.

I asked him where the sentences are executed, and the state prosecutor answered that that happens in a secret place. A soldier whispered to me that the secret place is the courtyard of the military headquarters.

### Further on Securitate Members

*AU3012232889 Paris AFP in English 2208 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[By Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Timisoara, Romania, Dec 30 (AFP)—More than 300 presumed members of the Securitate and others loyal to executed leader Nicolae Ceausescu are now imprisoned in Timisoara, the Western city where the Romanian revolution started nearly two weeks ago, a general who commands the local garrison said.

General Gheorghe Popescu gave the figure at a press conference Saturday, referring to those held as "terrorists".

Another officer, Colonel Nicu Predonescu, an Army representative in the interim provincial government, said they will all be judged by military courts, and promised future investigations of junior level interior ministry officials. He said among those held were several members of the elite Securitate, which has been held responsible for mass killings, police officers and various party apparatchiks, all of whom supported the former dictator.

The provincial leader Lorin Fortuna told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, meanwhile, that between 3,500 and 4,000 had died in the uprising. A director at one of Timisoara's central hospitals, Dr. Radu Strain, gave a similar estimate.

Unconfirmed reports have said three "Arab terrorists", including a Syrian, had been arrested in Timisoara. A captain close to the military courts told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that several foreigners had been held for a few days but released following identity checks. He said they had been "mistakenly taken for agents of the Securitate." Col. Predonescu said some junior-level officers in the secret police had also been released.

"The interior ministry apparatus is enormous, and we cannot completely purge it right away. A bit later, each one will be subject to investigation," he said, adding that the Army supporting the new government had taken control of the Securitate archives "nearly intact" and was now guarding them.

Military units, backed by helicopters, continued searching Saturday for Securitate troops holding out in the region, the colonel said. Gen. Popescu said so far they had only recovered numerous arms and ammunition, particularly pistols equipped with silencers.

Unconfirmed reports have said these renegade Securitate troops were hiding out in the forest and mountains around Timisoara trying to flee across to Yugoslavia or Hungary. Military sources said about 40 Securitate agents had already been arrested after crossing the border with Yugoslavia.

Defense Minister Nicolae Militaru has warned Ceausescu loyalist forces to give themselves up or face death by firing squad.

No shots have been heard in Timisoara since Wednesday, and security has eased up somewhat with the withdrawal of some tanks from the city. Army troops, however, are still guarding the main official buildings, the hospitals and the hotels, and some identity checks are still being carried out in the city's streets.

Reports in Timisoara said only about 100 victims have been buried by their families, with thousands of bodies apparently still unrecovered.

Various sources said the victims of the mass shootings by Ceausescu troops in downtown Timisoara were carried off by secret police troops and not seen again.

Only one mass grave has been found in the area so far, with some 200 bodies. Local authorities said they were not looking for other mass graves, after doctors warned of health threats.

A local paper, BANATSKE NOVINE, called for information on any people missing to try to draw up an accurate list.

### Interior Minister Says Internal Situation 'Good'

*AU2912231889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2230 GMT 29 Dec 89*

["Romania's Minister of the Interior on the Situation in the Country"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—"The situation is good and getting better throughout the country", said Colonel-General Mihai Gheorghe Ghitac, Romania's minister of the interior, in an interview with the Free Romanian Television on December 29.

"There are important conclusions to be drawn from the eight-day actions that turned into heavy fighting in some parts of the country", the minister added. "Since the counterrevolutionary acts of terrorism started right after the winning of power, we can only conclude that the reaction's counterstrike had been prepared in advance. It covered the major areas of the capital city and several of the country's large towns. Secondly, the enemy reconnaissance- diversion teams employed a number of highly efficient fighting means: sophisticated automatic weapons equipped with night sighting devices and gun sighting telescopes. Furthermore, in some parts of the countries the terrorists were aided by choppers and even light armoured cars. The actions we all had to put up with went hand in hand with an intense psychologic war. Rumours were spread to intimidate and many individuals were threatened on the phone. Which only leads to the conclusion that all actions had been prepared in advance, that they broke out on signal.

"Both in the capital city and elsewhere in the country the enemy employed the same forces and the same methods of combat. We could say, without making a mistake, that the actions taken by the terrorists were unitary in character throughout the country."

Asked about the situation in Bucharest and in the country as a whole, Ghitac said: "As is known, strong defence and intervention forces were concentrated to destroy the reconnaissance diversion teams: tanks, armoured cars, automatic weapons, antitank weapons, a powerful human force, that gave a firm riposte to the enemy's attempts to conquer major units, which were probably included in their plan.

"The major factor contributing to the liquidation of that state of affairs was the population, who supported the Army in all their actions. The Army firmly fought the diversionists and dealt them heavy blows. These actions also involved our police and other factors in the ministry of the interior. It was all these concerted actions that led to the calmer situation of the present. There are no more strong points of reconnaissance-diversion groups in Bucharest. Last night there were only scattered shots fired in the Baneasa area, to which our fighters gave a prompt riposte. The situation is similar in the country's other towns. There still are isolated groups but they no longer make a force to pose major problems to the population.

"The situation is good and getting better", Ghitan said in conclusion.

### Iliescu Interviewed on Consolidating Power

*LD2912234289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Ion Iliescu, National Salvation Front chairman, made a statement to our correspondent, Jozsef Orosz.

[Begin recording] Mr Head of State, when do you think you will be able to completely consolidate power in Romania?

[Iliescu, in Romanian, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] It is very difficult to say precisely.

[Orosz] But still, what kind of time scale are you thinking of?

[Iliescu] You see, our most important task now is to use all our energy to advance the stabilization of the situation. What we can say now, after a week of our labors, is that the situation has improved and in just a few days. But naturally, there is still much to be done.

[Orosz] When will you form a complete government?

[Iliescu] At present, the process of selecting ministers in key positions, and the organization of the most important ministries is under way. I think that a complete government can only begin to work after the elections. In the 4-5 months at our disposal until then, the situation must be consolidated to an extent that free elections can take place, which will make it possible for a legitimate, real, complete government to be established.

[Orosz] An important question, for you yourself too, is what role the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] can play in the elections, and what role can it be expected to achieve for itself after the elections. Are you counting on any position at all, after the fact that the most ugly fall in world history has been precisely that of the RCP?

[Iliescu] Well, this is also a difficult question to answer at present. The present members of the party can contribute to the development of the country, even if in a different organizational form because party members constitute an important part of society. We are encouraging every social force to join together, and to act in unity. The National Salvation Front would like to hold together the left and right-wing forces alike, in the interests of consolidation.

[Orosz] After your talks with Gyula Horn, how do you see the role of the national minorities in Romania? Has your opinion changed?

[Iliescu] In the National Salvation Front Council, the vice chairman post is filled by Karoly Kiraly, a Hungarian. He is a well known and respected personality in our country; he played a very important role in the protest movement against Ceausescu, as well as in other current events. I think his person is also a guarantee for our endeavor, which is an important part of our program, and which will also be part of the planned new constitution, namely that in Romania we would like to guarantee every condition, for all nationalities to have equality. [end recording]

## Spokesman Bodgan on New Foreign Policy

*LD3112211689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2017 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, December 31 (TANJUG)—Cooperation in the Balkans within the framework of relations within 'an European house to share' will have priority in the foreign policy of Romania's new government, Corneliu Bogdan, the press spokesman and the first deputy foreign minister, told the press here today.

On next January 5th or 6th Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to travel to Bucharest, he announced. Also early next month to come is Laurent Fabius, president of France's parliament, and Sten Andersson, Sweden's foreign minister, has also heralded his coming. Bogdan also drew attention to the significance of Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn's visit wound up two days ago. On that occasion, it was agreed that the two countries reopen their consulates: Hungary in Cluj and Romania in Szeged, it was learned.

Asked about the escape to the U.S. by Gen. Ion Pacecu, chief of the Romanian intelligence service within the secret police, first Deputy Foreign Minister Bogdan said that the matter would be studied with care, above all concerning this service's activities in Romania.

Referring to Romania's foreign policy continuity, Bogdan said that it was well set up in essence at Ceausescu's time, but poorly carried out.

Bogdan did not explicitly answer the question of 'whether former King Mihail will come back to Romania.' The Romanian people has already decided that matter. The new authorities proclaimed Romania a republic as early as in the first days of the December revolution, Bogdan said.

## Views on Communists

*AU3112185689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1807 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["Press Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—In a press conference with foreign journalists held on Sunday, December 31, Corneliu Bogdan, minister secretary of state, the Foreign Ministry of Romania, referred to the question of the members of the Communist Party, who count 3.8 million. Corneliu Bogdan showed that to keep the Communists out of the political life was out of question but then so was also their taking over the power. So, the minister said, the problem of the Communist Party members is a false problem and discussing this matter leads to destabilization, being in fact a diversion. There were competent party members and many of them opposed Ceausescu. The commununists who are at present on the country's leadership—Corneliu Manescu, Silviu Brucan, Ion Iliescu—were persecuted by the dictatorship and they should be supported, concluded Corneliu Bogdan.

## Relations With USSR

*AU3112185589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["Romanian-Soviet Relations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—The toughest barriers that hampered the development of Romania's relations with the Soviet Union—Ceausescu's fierce opposition to perestroika and glasnost on the one hand, and the Brezhnev doctrine on the other hand, have vanished. So, there is every possibility in peace now for the development of the Romanian-Soviet relations, stated Corneliu Bogdan, minister secretary of state, the Foreign Ministry of Romania, at a news conference with foreign journalists. We are very glad that the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, Eduard Shevardnadze, will visit Romania in the first ten days of January. His visit will be the first contact with his Romanian counterpart, the respondent told the foreign journalists.

## Leaders Speak on Normalization of Country

*LD0101232190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2040 GMT 1 Jan 90*

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Just before this broadcast, four of our film crews returned from Romania, where the situation is returning to normal with surprising rapidity. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified reporter] Life has returned to the snow-covered streets. The cruising tanks do not frighten anyone; on the contrary, they fill the people of Bucharest with calm. The Army guards the city's calm. They watch with special care over the government buildings where members of the National Salvation Front Council work. For security reasons, nobody knows of their location. On this day it was in fact in the building of the Foreign Ministry that we met Dumitru Mazilu, the country's number two man, whose name the world learned when he was arrested because of the report he compiled for the UN about the Romanian dictatorship. Only the revolution freed him. A few days suffice for a revolution, but it is much harder to build a democratic system.

[Begin Mazilu recording in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] This will be an extraordinarily lengthy process. We have to attempt it together with our friends. The Hungarian experiences represent an important example for Romania, and we consider these experiences very significant. For many, many years, but especially in the last 2 years, the Hungarian changes have significantly influenced Romania's way of thinking; have promoted the present changes. Also, on this occasion I would like to thank the Hungarian people, your leadership, for their courage and their friendship. We would like to join forces and together build our society, since the common European home cannot be built without freedom and cooperation. We hold in esteem and love your people very much. [end recording]

[Reporter] Although in Bucharest there is calm, everybody knows that the hiding Secus [Securitate] thirst for revenge, so patrols are stopping cars at every step.

Is there still any shooting around here?

[Unidentified person] The night before last they were still shooting. By now this sort of thing happens only very rarely, sporadically. We hope everything will return to normal at last.

[Reporter] The police are also on the side of the Army. We asked the national chief of police whether the lurking Secus still represent a significant force.

[Begin police chief recording] I do not think so. Unfortunately, we never counted them. If we had counted them, and this would have been useful to us, then at least we would know how many we have to deal with. From everything we have seen, and from the data at our disposal at this moment, what emerges is that in the past 2 days there has been only sporadic shooting. Yes, sporadic. And a few shots, as a matter of fact, were actually justified. In other words, it was not the terrorists who fired them. I am convinced that unless something surprising, something unforeseeable, happens, the situation will be completely normalized within two-three days. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The day after the victory, the chief of staff of the National Salvation Front is wrestling with the gigantic task of recreating political and economic life. A young engineer has been put at the head of the government, Petre Roman, who is full of enthusiasm and energy.

[Begin recording] [Roman in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] We are now examining the political situation and are seeking a solution to the political problems. Personally what I find the most exciting—and I have even said this on television—is what will happen, how it will be with the free elections. I hope that the deadline—we have called the elections for April—will be realistic. In other words, the thing that preoccupies me the most is how we are to guarantee the freedom of the elections. I am now not just thinking of political freedom, since the freedom of opinions also depends on this: that when people go to vote their economic situation should not fetter them.

[Reporter] Do you think that this will be possible in a few months? That would be fantastac.

[Roman] I am beginning to think so.

[Reporter] At the outset you weren't sure of this either?

[Roman] Absolutely not. For, as you know, the structure of our economy, the state of our tools of production, are catastrophic. These things, in fact, did not interest Ceausescu whatsoever. This extraordinary primitive man did not even comprehend what was going on in the world. The technical standard of our largest industrial enterprises, for example, is very low. Nontheless, from the first moment onward what I am stressing is that we must indeed work hard with these old, outdated machines, for before the elections we do not have the time to transform this structure. Therefore, we have to work with these machines. But we do have the capacity to work with qualified people, to join forces with the intelligentsia. This intelligentsia, the expertise, the professional skills, are very much alive and in existence, because this revolution has at last opened the gates of possiblities for them.

[Reporter] In this situation are you aided by the fact that Romania's foreign debt is very low?

[Roman] No. Well, perhaps, but in the essential issues it is not this that counts. This is not the decisive factor. As I have (?already) said, the basic technical standard of our industry is very low. In a word, the way we have to begin, you know, it is better to use developed technology, and with that to produce something that can be sold, than to manufacture something we don't know what to do with. We are now, practically, on a forced course. Our people are now working very hard just to maintain the continuity of economic life, of production.

[Reporter] Do you wish to make use of foreign aid?

[Roman] Well, I would not say no to that.

[Reporter] Our experience in Hungary is that a whole lot of outdated enterprises have to be closed down. Consequently, we have to face unemployment and similar problems.

[Roman] It is indeed a big problem that we will have to shut down factories. As far as unemployment is concerned, we will have to examine this, too, with very great attention. We must not forget that this revolution was the revolution of our entire people. You understand, don't you?

[Reporter] Yes, naturally.

[Roman] This is a political problem, and we can not accept that because of the revolution people should lose their bread.

[Reporter] The shops are now full. Do you think you will be able to maintain this level?

[Roman] We are now in a better situation than earlier. That is true.

[Reporter] Do you think you can keep this up?

[Roman] I hope so. The people know that they must work. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Today it is still the stablization of the situation that is on the agenda. The leaders of the victorious evolution, however, are confident that the people support them. Ion Iliescu, the actual president of the republic, is a widely known politician who raised his voice bravely against the dictatorship. In many parts of the city fighting is still going on. How irreversible is this revolution?

[Begin recording] [Iliescu in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] Today I can state with certainty, without reservations, that this process is irreversible. Of course, we are wrestling with a huge number of problems and we still have much to do, but the revolution, the consolidation of the revolution's achievements, are supported unanimously by the people's masses.

[Reporter] There is no doubt about that, but what is first on your agenda?

[Iliescu] We are now beginning to work out the new constitution. In accordance with the principles formulated in our program, we have prepared a new election law. With all our strength we strive to create the possibility for everyone to take part in these elections, but the first and most important task for us, for the National Salvation Front, is that while we prepare for the elections at the same time we should also take care that the revolutionary process should not stumble and that the unity that took shape when the power of Ceausescu was overthrown should be consolidated.

[Reporter] Is the National Salvation Front also going to run in the elections?

[Iliescu] We have worked out our program, which any other party may join. The front itself is running with a program that is so wide in scope that it can be attractive to every political force, from the left wing to the right wing, and they can join it, too. Pluralism is a difficult affair. Pluralism does not simply mean that several parties take part in political life. In my opinion, the best pluralism for Romania is one in which there exist 23 million parties. [end recording] [passage omitted]

## NSF Official Says Communist Party 'Finished'

*AU3012120589 Paris AFP in English 1142 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 30 (AFP)—The Romanian Communist Party "is finished" because it "played no role in the revolution", one of the new Romanian leadership, Silviu Brucan told a French Socialist Party delegation here on Saturday.

"For us, the Romanian Communist Party is finished. This farce is over. The reasons are that Ceausescu's repression was so effective that it eliminated all dissidence within the party," said Mr. Brucan, who is a vice president on the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council's executive committee.

He said the party "took no part in the revolutionary process. It is a verdict of history."

Mr. Brucan said the Front was a "pluralist organisation whose members were in agreement on a number of issues".

He said that in general elections scheduled for April, "the Front will field its candidates on the basis of a common platform. Other parties and organisations will also take part in the elections. The more there are, the better."

Mr. Brucan said the Front had initially proposed holding the elections in June or July but he said young supporters refused to wait that long and the Front had bowed to pressure for "quicker" elections.

He said the parliament to emerge from the April election would be called upon to adopt a new Constitution for Romania. "Meantime, the Front will work to prepare a draft constitution," he said.

The French Socialist Party delegation led by the Secretary for Human Rights Gerard Lindeberg, arrived in Bucharest Thursday for what was to be a two-day visit. Their flight home was due Friday but was delayed until Saturday because of bad weather.

Meanwhile, a French ship carrying medicine, food and clothes has been given the go-ahead from France to set sail from Marseilles in January for the Romanian port of Constanta on the Black Sea.

The shipment will complete the French programme of emergency aid to Romania, the shipowners said. On Wednesday, the French Secretary of State for Humanitarian Assistance, Bernard Kouchner called for aid in kind to be replaced from now on by economic assistance to Romania.

## RCP Members Want Dissolution of Party

*AU3012222389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1932 GMT 30 Dec 89*

["Statement of RCP Initiative Group"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—An initiative group of Romanian Communist Party [RCP] members has issued a statement on 30 December that welcomes the 22 December 1989 victory of the popular revolution achieved by the masses of people, of youths with Army support which overthrew the hideous dictatorship of the Ceausescu clan, a despotic regime which for almost a quarter of a century fettered the Romanian people's energies and creative potential, stifled free thought, trod under foot the basic human rights and freedoms, a regime whose victims were tens of thousands of innocent people, communists included. The dictatorship of the Ceausescu pair and their allies subordinated all party activities to their own ambitions, turned the ideals of socialism into shallow words, distorting its fundamental values, the statement shows.

We fully adhere to the platform-programme of the Council of the National Salvation Front and call on all honest party members, who are true patriots to fully support the popular revolution, help strengthening the new state power and the achievement of the goals of the front's programme.

We will take action, along with the other patriotic forces in a national reconciliation spirit to re-build a truly free, democratic and prosperous Romania.

We openly admit that in the dark dictatorship period, the RCP compromised itself before the people and before history. We declare that we dissociate ourselves from everything that abhorrent and abusive dictatorship stood for, and we condemn it with indignation. We will always reproach ourselves the fact that we did not take action in time to stop the escalation of dictatorship and arbitrariness.

It is the right and duty of all people who share the idea of a modern, contemporary socialism founded on freedom, democracy and social justice to establish a political formation and take part in the framework of new political structures in the future free elections.

Therefore, we call on all RCP members to support the convening in the shortest possible time of an extraordinary congress of the party that should decide its dissolution and put all party property into the hands of the people, through the Council of National Salvation Front.

## Romanian Democratic Party Program Listed

*AU3012234089 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2100 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] The program of the Romanian Democratic Party, established during the days and nights of the revolution, includes, among other things: eradicating from the Constitution the article stipulating the Romanian Communist Party's leading role; free general elections; political pluralism; the establishment of free and independent trade unions; the representation in government of all minorities, regardless of religious or political creed; the election, through a secret vote, of the country's president for one or two mandates, depending on the period of time set by parliament; the right to practice a profession or trade at the same time in the state and private sectors; free initiative in the arts, culture, and sports fields; the alteration of the social security system [word indistinct] in order to create a fair framework, both in the state and private sectors; and Romania should maintain its status as member of the Warsaw Pact while at the same time fighting for a united European home.

## Celac Invites Shevardnadze To Visit Romania

*AU3012163489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Today Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac received the USSR ambassador to Bucharest, Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov. On this occasion the Romanian minister extended an invitation to the foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, to pay an official visit to Romania during the first 10 days of January 1990.

Also today, the Soviet side communicated its agreement in principle.

## Shevardnadze To Visit Romania 5-6 Jan

*AU3112215389 Paris AFP in English 1712 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 31 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will pay an official visit to Romania on January 5 and 6, it was announced here Sunday.

Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Corneliu Bogdan told a press conference that the trip, the first by a senior Soviet official since the overthrow on December 22 of the Ceausescu regime, "was a chance to try out our new relations in the light of latest developments in Romania." [passage omitted]

### Mazilu Receives al-Qadhdhafi's Special Envoy

*AU3112163589 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Dumitru Mazilu, first deputy vice president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], received Salem Ibrahim Muhammad, special envoy of Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyh.

The Libyan representative noted that, on behalf of the leaders of the Great 1 September Revolution, he is empowered to convey feelings of solidarity with and support for the Romanian people's revolution, which is the first that the world has seen since the French Revolution of 1789, in terms of its originality. The Libyan representative said that all of those who oppose the will of the Romanian people oppose the progress of history, their cause being doomed to failure because the history of the people is invincible.

In connection with certain which state that Libyan citizens and other Arabs had fought side by side with terrorists against the revolution of the Romanian people, the Libyan representative said that Libya denies such rumors and believes that they are aimed at undermining the friendship between the Romanian people and the Libyan people.

Dumitru Mazilu requested that, on behalf of the NSF Council, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi should be extended sincere appreciation for the feelings of solidarity with and support for the revolution of the Romanian people, for recognizing the NSF, and for the medical aid offered to Romania in these difficult moments. The NSF Council greatly appreciates this support and the manifestations of solidarity of Arab countries with the people's revolution.

As regards the rumors about Arab terrorists' participation, they were aimed at weakening the Arab world's feelings of sympathy for the heroic struggle of the Romanian people against the odious Ceausescu dictatorship, and at demobilizing and discouraging these feelings.

### 'Foreign Mercenaries' Participated in Fighting

*LD3112175789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 31 Dec 89*

[Text] The commander in chief of the Romanian Navy has confirmed that foreign mercenaries did indeed take part in the fighting in Romania. At Christmas, for example, unidentified helicopters flew into the territory of Dobruca. On the open sea likewise, ships with unknown markings appeared. At that time help had been offered for reconnaissance both by the Soviet and Romanian side. The Romanian Army disabled two ships which served as a base for the foreign mercenaries. There has been no news, however, about their nationality.

Since then, Constanta military sources have reported that over 3,000 foreign terrorists, disguised as students, were trained in Romania in three special camps.

### Palestinian Mission Denies Fighters in Romania

*AU3012175789 Paris AFP in English 1639 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 30 (AFP)—The Palestinian mission here Saturday denied rumours of Palestinians fighting alongside the last partisans of ousted dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, who was executed Monday [25 December]. Claims that foreign mercenaries were fighting with loyalists of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu have been made several times in the past week, but never fully substantiated.

The mission's statement described the rumours as "false and provocative" and said they were aimed "at weakening the friendship and friendly relations between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people."

The statement also came after Romanian military and naval sources said Saturday that Securitate forces holding out against the new Romanian government have been bolstered by Iranian and Arab mercenaries.

### AGERPRES Head Reportedly Fired

*AU3012174489 Paris AFP in English 1613 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 30 (AFP)—The head of the Romanian news agency, AGERPRES, has been fired, a reliable source said Saturday. Alexandru Ionescu was replaced by Neagu Udroiu, who had been until now a general secretary in the agency, the source said. [passage omitted]

### AGERPRES Correspondents Recalled 13 Years Ago

*AU3012171289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1320 GMT 30 Dec 89*

["Did You Know That..."—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—Upon the dictator's instruction on 1 December 1976 all the Romanian press correspondents abroad were recalled from their posts. Therefore, for more than 13 years, the mass media in Romania have had no correspondent abroad but for an AGERPRES special envoy to Moscow. A singular case in Europe.

Several years ago "Cabinetul 2" (Elena Ceausescu's office) decided that the Romanian news agency AGERPRES should no longer renew its subscriptions to the principal news agencies abroad: FRANCE PRESSE, ASSOCIATED PRESS, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL and REUTERS, so as to "save"...75,000 U.S.dollars. (mind you that only Zoe, the dictator's daughter, had over 97,000 U.S. dollars cash when caught). Worth mentioning and welcoming with gratitude is FRANCE PRESSE's gesture: On the very first days of the revolutionary events in Romania, they facilitated AGERPRES free access to their news items, leaving financial questions to be solved subsequently.

For the same reasons of "savings", in fact for barring people's access to the foreign source of information, the dictatorship cancelled all subscriptions to the Western press. Moreover, even the newspapers from socialist countries were censured in the last period of tyranny.

## AGERPRES Renamed ROMPRES

*AU0201130890 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1150 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/1/1989—We hereby inform subscribers to AGERPRES news agency service and all users of its news service that AGERPRES has stopped its activity today 2 January 1990 at noon.

From now on you are connected to ROMPRES news agency that will supply the news to you.

The terms of contracts and mutual obligations are unchanged.

ROMPRES news agency director-general,

Neagu Udroiu

## SFRY-Romania Past Relationship Viewed

*AU0101140590 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 01 Jan 90*

[Item by AFP correspondent Milan Dragovic—Yugoslavs Finaly Told Truth about Ceausescu's Romania]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 1 (AFP)—Yugoslavs are finally learning the terrible truth about executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu—a man Tito "couldn't stand" but who had to be humoured.

The official Yugoslav media showered praise on Ceausescu for years, as Belgrade maintained a tactical friendship with Bucharest for security reasons.

Recently, however, the Yugoslav media has carried daily revelations of Ceausescu's crimes. And the Montenegro Communist Party leadership has asked Belgrade to apologise to Romanians for its tolerance of such a hated regime. The relationship attests to "the little interest accorded to the defense of humanist values, to the liberty and dignity of individuals," Montenegro Communist Party leader Svetozar Marovic [title as received] said.

To maintain good relations, the leaders in Belgrade even abstained from reprimanding Bucharest for its repression of Serbian and Croatian minorities in Romania. A furor broke last May when the weekly NIN published a report on the deportation of thousands of Serbians and Croatians to Romanian camps in the 1950s. Serbia and Croatia are among Yugoslavia's republics.

Close ties between Romania and Yugoslavia developed during the rule of the late Josip Tito, even though the Yugoslav leader reportedly hated Mr. Ceausescu. "Tito couldn't stand Ceausescu, but such a Ceausescu and such a Romania were useful to us," Milos Melovski, Yugoslavia's former ambassador to Romania, said in an interivew.

Tito and Ceausescu paid each other at least 18 visits, usually going on hunting trips near the northern Yugoslav community of Karadjordjevo and the northwestern Romanian city of Timisoara.

While Yugoslavia had differences with most of its neighbors, the diplomat said, "the Romanian border was the only one where it wasn't necessary to concentrate troops ... and good relations were a guarantee of security for us."

Mr. Melovski said that Yugoslav leader Raif Dizdarevic [former president of the SFRY presidency] and Mr. Ceausescu had a row in Bucharest last year over the treatment of minorities in Romania. Mr. Dizdarevic also criticized the Romanian regime for allegedly allowing ethnic Albanians to engage in "anti-Yugoslav activities" from the southeastern Romanian city of Craiova. He said the group of ethnic Albanians from Yugoslavia was financed by the Albanian Embassy in Bucharest.

In recent days, the Yugoslav news media has criticized a high-ranking Yugoslav delegation for attending the Romanian Communist Party congress last November in which Mr. Ceausescu defied democratic reform in Eastern Europe. Delegation leader Marko Lolic told the NIN weekly he had personally opposed the trip, but that reasons of state had prevailed.

During a private meeting with Mr. Ceausescu during the congress, Mr. Lolic had insisted on the need for an emergency Romanian-Yugoslav summit to examine the "dangerous" developments in Eastern Europe. "His hate toward (Soviet leader Mikhail) Gorbachev and perestroika (restructuring) were evident," he recalled.

## Party Statement on Romania, Panama

*AU3112094689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 89 p 6*

[Statement by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on events in Romania and Panama: "The People Rose Up Against the Dictator"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec—An all-people's revolt took place in Romania last Sunday against the dictator, Ceausescu, which was directly prompted by the regime's violence over the people who had expressed their legitimate and justified dissatisfaction en masse. At that time and in subsequent armed battles, there were numerous innocent victims on the people's side including members of the Serbian minority in Romania, all of which causes the deepest bitterness on the part of the entire democratic public in our country and in the whole world.

The people's uprising against the dictator demonstrated with the greatest courage and sacrifice particularly of the youth, workers, and soldiers that their justified aspirations cannot be stopped with force. The historical processes in many socialist countries, the settling of accounts with Stalinist inheritance, and the strong movement toward democratization have demonstrated that not even in Romania can this inevitable process be stopped by closing borders and keeping people in submission, fear, and isolation as this is in profound opposition to the broadest aspirations for people's freedom and the respect of human rights and liberties.

By conveying the feeling of the entire membership and the broadest democratic public in the country, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia expresses solidarity with the Romanian people's just struggle and supports all efforts by the National Salvation Front to ensure that peace and freedom, democracy, the equality of all citizens and members of parts of the peoples who live as national minorities in Romania and whose rights have been trampled on and denied prevail in Romania after the long years of dictatorship.

This stand proceeds from the consistent and principled stand of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia regarding the aspirations and struggles of all peoples for their own independent and authentic road to development, for a better life, for democracy, and also from our special interest in the events in our neighboring country and the events that concern the friendly Romanian people with whom we are linked in many historical ways. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia and our people therefore have a special interest because this involves a neighboring country where sections of our peoples live as minorities.

### Links Have Been Broken

Even before these events, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia clearly and unambiguously conveyed to the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] its disagreement with numerous aspects of Romania's domestic policy, which acquired increasingly prominent undemocratic and authoritarian elements, broke off all links with the people and their feelings, and turned itself into a dictatorship of one personality, his family, and clan. In a message to the recent RCP congress, we pointed out that reforms in socialism were a historically essential process, expecting that even this party would finally understand and accept this basic fact.

However, the congress took place in the usual way, reaffirming Stalinist policy and ostentatiously glorifying the cult of personality. The head of our delegation left the congress and returned to our country before it ended. Afterward, the Presidium issued another statement on 27 November in which we explicitly criticized the Communist Party of Romania's domestic policy and again pointed out the basic differences in our views and practice.

Therefore, when there was bloodshed in Timisoara, the Presidium made the decision to stop cooperation with the RCP and withdraw the invitation that it had sent for the attendance of a RCP delegation at the usual level at the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We also think, for the sake of the complete truth, that it is necessary to stress that this invitation was not sent to the overthrown and former general secretary of the RCP.

The development of events in Romania which took place after our Presidium had taken its stands completely confirmed the justification for and principled nature of the assessments and steps that we took, in which we were very clear, precise, and principled in energetically condemning and distancing ourselves from the RCP's leadership regarding the escalation of shameful violence toward the Romanian people. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its president personally did not accept several initiatives made by Nicolae Ceausescu for the presidents of the two parties to meet.

### Basic Differences

The Romanian leadership certainly wanted to use these initiatives to break the general blockade and isolation of Romania and the RCP on the international scene and within the framework of the modern workers movement, bearing in mind Yugoslavia's reputation as the country chairing the Nonaligned Countries Movement and its independent position, as well as the fact that many stands and principled orientations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are now being confirmed.

Objectively speaking, this meeting could not take place because of the basic differences between us concerning strategic issues and practice in the development of socialism and democracy, and particularly because of differences in views of the essence of the changes and reforms in socialist countries and respect for human rights and liberties as necessary and inevitable historical processes of the development and renovation of socialism.

Bearing all this in mind, the aforementioned assessments and stands of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which are presented in the statement of 20 December are of essential political importance.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia fully supports the Romanian people and their progressive and democratic forces in independently overcoming the present difficult and tragic situation without outside interference. We are giving and will give full moral and political support to all the progressive and democratic forces of Romania which are struggling for a better and more humane life, for justice and freedom, and civil and national equality.

In line with the well-known principled stands on the development of international and interstate relations, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue to advocate an even greater deepening of good-neighborly and friendly relations between the SFRY and Romania.

### All Rights to the Minorities

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia states on this occasion, too, that the position and the implementation of the rights of the national minorities in every country is one of the basic foundations of a true democracy in society and one of the important factors that influence the development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between peoples and countries. In the context of the entire democratization of social relations in Romania we expect that the position of some of our peoples who live in Romania as national minorities will be resolved in line with principles and promoted in all areas, in accordance with civilizational achievements and in the direction of the consistent recognition and implementation of their human and national rights.

The statement cites further that another unpleasant international event has occurred in recent days, the aggression of the United States of America against the sovereign and nonaligned Panama. This act of crudely violating international law and the example of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country has provoked our sharpest condemnation. We demand that the troops of the United States of American be immediately withdrawn from Panama.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

**Recognition of the Press, Radio, and Television**

The announcement by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia particularly stresses the exceptionally professional and moral involvement of Yugoslav journalists: the press, radio, and television which bravely and devotedly and promptly and objectively allowed our public and the world public full insight into these historic events which have changed the people of Romania's destiny, which also has enormous international significance.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia expresses its sincere condolences to the people because of the victims of the just struggle for the victory of the people and nationalities of Romania and the progressive democratic forces in this neighboring country.

## SFRY, S. Korea Establish Diplomatic Relations

*LD2712233289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1957 GMT 27 Dec 89*

[Text] New York, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Republic of Korea established diplomatic relations at the United Nations H.Q. in New York today.

Yugoslav chief U.N. delegate Ambassador Dragoslav Pejic and the permanent representative of the Observers Mission of the Republic of Korea Ambassador Dr Sang Yong Park, after the signing of the documents, voiced confidence that diplomatic relations would contribute to the strengthening of cooperation between the two countries to their mutual benefit.

In their joint statement, the two countries' missions express mutual intention for the soonest possible exchange of ambassadors, in Belgrade and Seoul.

In stressing that Yugoslavia and the republic of Korea already maintain solid cooperation also at international forums, especially within the "Group of 77" developing countries and at the United Nations, Ambassador Pejic stressed that an appreciably high level has already been attained by the two countries' enterprises in their relations.

Yugoslavia has never had diplomatic relations with South Korea during the 40 years of the republic's existence. Belgrade has, however, always maintained diplomatic relations with the state formed in the northern part of the peninsula—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Meanwhile, economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and South Korea expanded. From the mid-1980s, the volume of visible trade doubled each year to reach more than 33 million dollars in 1988.

In the nine months of this year, trade between the two countries amounted to 41 million dollars. This, however, indicates that the target, set primarily by South Korean businessmen, of 100 million dollars' worth of trade by the year end will be far from reached.

South Korea now has diplomatic relations with 134 states, including 75 non-aligned countries.

## 2d Quake Hits Krsko Nuclear Power Plant

*LD3012150289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1426 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 30 (TANJUG)—A new earthquake registering four degrees on the Mercalli Scale shook Krsko Polje (an area in north-western Yugoslavia) at about 06:00 local time (0700 GMT) this morning, but Yugoslavia's only nuclear power plant, Krsko, was not shut down.

Krsko, said to be capable of withstanding shocks caused by a force-ten tremor, is operating normally today.

The plant was shut down on Thursday following the first quake, but resumed operation yesterday after an investigation revealed no sign of damage.

## Attacks on Bus, Truck, Cars Reported in Kosovo

*AU2912202089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] As reported by official sources, an unidentified group of young people stoned a bus, a truck, a private car bearing a Pristina number, and a traffic police car on the Nis-Pristina highway near Podujeve on 21 December. Seven people received slight injuries.

## Belo Brdo Miners End Strike

*LD3012180889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1054 GMT 30 Dec 89*

[Summary] Leposovic, 30 Dec (TANJUG)—After talks with representatives of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the managing director of the Trepca combine, and municipal officials, the miners of Belo Brdo near Leposavic decided to end their 5-day strike. It was agreed to establish a working party at the beginning of January to put forward concrete proposals for resolving the problems in this work organization.

## Rijeka Port Workers Stop Work Over Pay

*LD3012130489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Rijeka, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—A section of workers at Rijeka port stopped work today demanding the 13th wage packet for production workers, the dismissal of the work organization management, ridding the collective of the technological surplus, and an increase of 40 percent in the already envisaged rise in personal incomes. It is estimated that some 300-400 have stopped work, mainly port transportation workers in the Rijeka and Susak organizations of associated labor.

Following talks with the strike committee, consideration of the possibilities for increasing wages, and paying out one more wage packet, the port management concluded that there are neither legal nor financial possibilities for meeting the worker's demands. The average personal income in the port last month amounted to 24 million dinars. The management is now presenting its stands to the workers at a joint meeting.

## Ivangrad Coal Miners Strike Over Pay

*LD3012125989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] Ivangrad, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with their exceptionally low personal incomes, which at present do not exceed 4 million dinars, the 212 miners of the Ivangrad brown coal mines went on strike today. The miners are demanding an increase in personal incomes, since the latest Federal Executive Council measures and the freeze on wages, they say, are drastically affecting their standard of living and existence. They call for the dismissal of the president and the presidium of the municipal and republican trade union councils if their demands are not met.

## Kolubara Miners End Strike

*LD3012141189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Summary] Lazareva, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—The strike by miners at the Kolubara mining and power industry combine, which began yesterday and involved more than 10,000 miners, ended this afternoon after all the demands of the strikers were met. The miners are to receive wage increases and there have been resignations in the municipal League of Communists committee and the municipal trade union council, and of combine managers.

## 'Wave of Strikes' Continues in Smederevo

*AU2912161289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Text] The wave of strikes and protest meetings in Smederevo continued today. Workers' dissatisfaction arose primarily because of the very unfavorable situation in the economy and social activities. Prvoslav Vukovic has the details:

Strikes and extraordinary meetings have been held in the education sector, childcare institutions, road transport organizations, and industry and spread today to certain departments of the metal combine. It is true that in some sectors of the combine, the production process makes work stoppages impossible but while I speak protest meetings are being held.

All the workers meetings show dissatisfaction because of low personal incomes. The adoption of the law on personal incomes worsened the position of the workers and caused extra dissatisfaction. This law has put the organizations which have good business operations and those which have losses in the same position.

Regarding the latest events in the work organizations, members of the executive organs of the sociopolitical organizations and the executive council of the communal assembly have announced their stands in which they state, among other things, that the right to strike should not be exploited as a democratic way of resolving problems. In resolving every problem, it is stated in these stands, one should proceed from one's own mistakes and opportunities and then address higher authorities. Therefore, the full unity of working people and citizens is essential, as well as constant cooperation with communal and republican organs so that difficulties can be more quickly resolved using joint forces.

## 'Hundreds' Demonstrate During Bar Party Meeting

*AU2812141689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Bar—The beginning of the extraordinary conference of the League of Communists of Bar Commune is being held in a seething political atmosphere. The conference was convened at the demand of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, with the aim of relieving the president and members of the Communal Committee Presidium of their duties.

There are several hundred demonstrators in front of the building where the conference is being held. This has been the fifth attempt to implement the provision in the Statute of the League of Communists of Montenegro, that is, to meet the demand by the highest party body in the republic to replace those officials of the Bar party organization who fail to implement the conclusions of the 10th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Montenegro and who contribute to divisions in their party organization.

### Assembly Allocates Federal Budget

*LD2912180189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 29 Dec 89*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly allocated the federal budget for the next year.

The largest share of the budget—34.4 billion dinars—is set aside for financing the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The undeveloped [as received] will receive 3.5 billion dinars; 3.2 billion dinars is set aside for the care of invalids and war veterans; and 6.1 billion dinars for financing the federal administration.

Apart from permanent beneficiaries of the federal budget, social security funds are provided, above all, for workers who will be laid off. For those purposes, 1.8 billion dinars were set aside. Funds to the tune of 3.1 billion dinars for the financial recovery of banks, primarily in undeveloped parts of the country, were set aside.

In comparison with the Federal Executive Council proposal the budget for the next year will be lowered by 1.35 billion dinars. This was achieved by a reduction in fiscal reserves, that is, by lowering republican and provincial contributions by 1 billion dinars. Furthermore, due to the fact that the law on financing of the Yugoslav bank for economic cooperation was not adopted, 350 million dinars were not required.

For the first time, the budget will not finance a League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress, and funds for the work of majority of federal socio-political organizations in the federation were reduced. [passage omitted.]

Branko Skok, Budgetary Committee president, presented the proposed allocation of the budget to the delegates. Anita Bara, reprsentative of the youth organization, was the only one to object to a reduction of funds for the work of the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, whereby, as she put it, the holding of the 13th congress of the Yugoslav youth organization would be put into question. [passage omitted]

An answer to the question of delegate Ivan Ivanov was given to delegates of the Federal Chamber. Iran, as the Federal Executive Council reply notes, pays all its liabilities to Yugoslav enterprises resulting from the contracts in force on time. There are some problems, but they occur due to the fact that imports of Iranian oil are less than agreed upon, and the payments of equivalent value to Yugoslav exporters are directly dependent on the oil imports. [passage omitted]

The chamber of republics and provinces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Assembly today met only to adopt changes and amendments to the law on the National Bank of Yugoslavia and a unified monetary transactions of the republican and provincial national banks. The law regulates that the National Bank of Yugoslavia can buy and sell its own treasury bills, as well as federal treasury bills and bonds and other securities. The national bank will also assume the audit role. It will, apart from the republican and provincial national banks, audit the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation, Post Office savings, and money and stock market. [as received]

At the end, Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly, hosted a New Year's cocktail party for delegates and parliamentary correspondents.

### Racan Interviewed on Croatian Policy

*AU2912211989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 89 p 7*

[Goran Karadzic, Mitar Racenovic report on interview with Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, reprinted from Zagreb STAV; date and place not given: "There Is too Much Passion"]

[Text] [Question] It can be read in part of the press, particularly in Croatia, that you are too Yugoslav- and reform-oriented to conduct a Croatian policy.

[Racan] In these times, when politics is subjugated too much to the daily political situation, when there is too much passion, when people successfully remain in politics to the extent to which they "cope" day by day and when you are politically replaceable, when a mentality is present among people who accept everything and even turn around in their views and stands if this serves their personal political or party life, in such a situation I am not bothered by the criticism and denigrations which emerge from this situation and this hysteria. I am personally not impressed by this because, if this is correct, I do not know whom it harms. I want to remain among those who are struggling for the idea of a more decisive development of democratic socialism, regardless of how they fare in daily political life and what position they officially occupy in this life....

[Question] It has been written that you do not reply directly to the question of whether Serbian nationalism has already acquired the form of counterrevolution.

[Racan] I have a critical attitude toward certain things in the policy that is created by the Serbian League of Communists. I am also critical of many stands in the Croatian League of Communists and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. And that is well-known. However, I attack those who, for example, criticize the policy of the League of Communists of Serbia in a hurried and hasty way. I am trying to understand the justifications and reasons for certain political options. I am aware, for example, that "playing" the national card in a multinational community like ours cannot fail to cause trouble or to have an effect on the same processes among other peoples as well. We live together and the system of "interconnected vessels" applies here. I was aware that this line strengthens national antagonisms and nationalist options, and weakens the dividing line between the League of Communists and nationalist platforms. Therefore, I was critical of certain aspects of the political articulation of the national issue in Serbia. As regards the idea that I avoid saying that something is "counterrevolutionary," I avoid the easy use of this criticism, anyway....

[Question] Croatia is being increasingly accused of separatism and being turned against the east of the country, the position of Serbs in Croatia and so on.... Where is the identity of Croatian politics?

[Racan] At this moment, Croatian politics probably does not have its own sufficiently comprehensive reform identity. It is to a certain extent pluralist but not accidentally so. Whoever does not see this has not understood the Croatian situation. I personally would like this pluralist identity of "Croatian politics" to be as little as possible an expression of chaos and our inability, and more an expression of a conscious orientation and the reform work on this.

[Question] You have said that retrograde ideologies cannot be eliminated from the historical scene through bans and repression. Do you think that a wiser policy could have avoided what is happening in Kosovo?

[Racan] I do not know, but I think that some wiser steps could have been taken—both nowadays and in the past, and on various sides. It was necessary, for example, and possible for there to be more understanding for the Kosovo situation in Yugoslavia, but it was possible, desirable, and necessary for there to be greater sensitivity and a better analysis of the possible consequences of undertaking concrete measures to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. We need, above all, an all-encompassing critical judgment of what is happening in Kosovo. Instead of denigrations, we should talk about problems, different views, and their justifications.

[Question] Has there been fear or at least some other feeling in the Yugoslav political leadership since Azem Vlasi was arrested?

[Racan] A prominent politician declared at a meeting of about 60 people discussing the Vlasi trial: You know, Comrades, if you permit political conflicts to become crimes and to be resolved through repressive state means, then you will be next in line. Considering your previous question, it seems to me that part of the "wise policy" could be the dropping of charges against Vlasi, which would be proposed in Serbia, but not imposed on Serbia. This is indicated by certain aspects of the initiation of criminal proceedings and their obvious political elements, particularly as concerns parts of the criminal indictment which were publicly presented in the media. I think this, but I do not support a campaign and pressure. Likewise, I do not understand and do not accept the criticism of the proponents of this proposal, which has been called a hostile proposal and even support for the Albanian "counterrevolution."

We must show the ability to resolve all political clashes and conflicts in a political way and not in court trials. If political stands were to be the justification for a criminal judgment, then the fear is legitimate. Then the legitimate question is: And why would this not be applied to someone else? I am aware that this is also one of the dimensions of the trial in Titova Mitrovica, and I hope that the court will be able to say that the fear of a "political trial" is superfluous and reject every form of political pressure and "command" in this trial. I stress—every form. One should put only hostile activity on trial.

[Question] When you are on the Central Committee rostrum you appear calm, almost resigned, although people say that you know how to "go crazy."

[Racan] I try to be calm, although I am not like that. There is too much passion and bias, too much of a belligerent atmosphere, and too many "fighters" who do not always know which army they belong to, who their commanders are, and, in the final analysis, which policy they are struggling for. In such a situation we must endeavor to be sober, no matter how difficult that may be, and attempt—through the logic of dialogue, arguments, and calm discussion with people who think differently—to reach something that would be a Yugoslav synthesis, something that would express it for us all, and would not cancel out anyone in the country. Without this, democracy and the democratization of our system is just a dream.

## Croatian Opposition Groups Present Petition

*LD2712153789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 27 Dec 89*

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—Representatives of 14 alternative political organisations in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today presented a joint petition to the Croatia Assembly President Anojelko Runjic demanding the release of political prisoners, an end to political trials, the establishment of a new pluralist election system and the return of pasports to the sentence for verbal offenses.

The petition was signed this month by over 100 thousand Croatian citizens.

Runjic promised that the republic parliament would carefully analyse all demands of significance for the democratization of the society. He also called for reason, rationality, mutual confidence and joint responsibility for the coming times.

Representatives of alternative movements also stated readiness to build bridges of cooperation and contribute to advancing democratic processes.

## Slovene Elections Slated for April 1990

*LD2812213489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1801 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Preelection activities in Slovenia officially begin as early as 8 January

1990. President of the Slovene Assembly, Miran Potrc, has announced general elections of delegates to the Chamber of Municipalities and the sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly for Sunday, 8 April 1990. The president and members of the Slovene Presidency will also be elected the same day.

The elections of delegates to the municipal chambers of associated labor and to the chambers of associated labor of the assemblies of separate sociopolitical communities, and to the Republican Chamber of Associated Labor will be held on 12 April. Ten days later, on 22 April, elections will be held in local communities and municipalities.

The same date has been set for the second round of elections of delegates to the Chamber of Municipalities of the Republican Assembly and of delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

## Slovene Greens To Stand as Independent Party

*LD2812222389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1821 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene Green Party today finally decided to stand independently, that is, with its own lists of candidates, at the spring elections in the republic. It is, however, prepared to cooperate in preelection activities with the Demos, in which three opposition groups recently united.

At the municipal level, the Greens will leave regional organizations to decide whether to unite with one or more parties among those taking part in the elections.

## Montenegro Assembly Backs Changes to Constitution

*LD2812060489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 27 Dec 89*

[Excerpt] Titograd, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly at their session today gave their support to the FEC [Federal Executive Council] proposal to begin changes to the SFRY Constitution. Several concrete suggestions for changes were added to the FEC proposal, such as an end to nominating conferences in the electoral procedure. [passage omitted]

## Pristina LC CC Expels 45 Members

*LD2812201889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 28 Dec 89*

[Text] Pristina, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The Pristina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee today voted in a secret ballot to expel 45 members of the LC because of their opposition to the implementation of the LC policy on Kosovo and resistance to ideopolitical differentiation. The majority of them supported the unacceptable February demands of the Stari Trg miners. The largest group of those expelled—12—are from the LC basic organization of the Pristina Post and Telecommunications work community, 8 are from the (?Bankosa) work community, 6 from the provincial institute for textbook publication, 7 from the laboratorija work unit of the Kisnica mine, 5 from the Skendija primary school, and 3 from the work community of the Trgovina Kosovo composite organization of associated labor. Among those expelled there are also five lecturers from the department of Philosophy and Sociology of Pristina University.

## Comparison of Markovic Assembly Address

Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1440 GMT on 18 December carries a live relay of the speech Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, delivered to the SFRY Assembly. This relay has been compared with the Belgrade TANJUG version published in the 29 December East Europe DAILY REPORT on pages 90-104 under the headline "Markovic 18 Dec Assembly Address," revealing the following variations:

Page 91, column one, last paragraph, first through second sentence reads: ...already adopted laws. Also, the Assembly... (deleting editorial notation denoting footnote numbers which should be deleted from all subsequent paragraphs)

Page 95, column one, paragraph two, last sentence reads: ...will receive about 70 percent of this... (confirming queried figure)

Same page, column two, paragraph two, last sentence through paragraph three, first sentence reads: ...the next year. The figure expressed in dinars in your copy is wrong.

In accordance with... (providing sentence)

Page 96, column one, paragraph five, last sentence through paragraph six, first sentence reads: ...Bank's discount rate. This means that there will no longer be the need to revalue the interest rate which today represents the biggest cost in the interest rate policy.

As I have... (providing sentence)

Page 97, column two, paragraph one, first full sentence through last sentence reads: ...new convertible dinar. Allow me to show you some of them. [applause] The whole operation... (providing sentence)

Same column, paragraph two, only sentence reads: ...reduced to 13 percent per year in... (confirming queried word)

Page 98, paragraph one, last sentence reads: ...expenses of social security from their funds. (confirming queried word)

Same page, column two, penultimate paragraph, last sentence through last paragraph, first sentence reads:

...the Federal level. Changes in the Constitution concerning this domain will enable the state, the federal organs, through their activities and the harmonization of the work by the organs which perform state security jobs, to more efficiently realize their tasks as set by the federal law.

The FEC considers... (providing sentence)

Page 99, column two, second paragraph, only sentence through third paragraph first sentence reads: ... agency in 1990. I must inform you that the financial rescue of the banking system (?in Spain), for example, lasted 7 years. They embarked on this (?expecting) losses of 2 billion [currency not specified]. After 7 years [words indistinct] that they need 3 more years to develop such [word indistinct] system which they managed to rescue at that level. Therefore, we are talking about a long term process that we must direct and lead over a number of years.

The FEC proposes... (providing passage)

Page 102, column two, paragraph four, only sentence reads: ...citizens of Yugoslavia, all sociopolitical organizations and organs, to set aside... (providing additional words)

Same column, last paragraph of speech, only sentence to end of speech reads: ...and I, personally—in submitting this report and the program of economic reforms and the measures for its realization in 1990, and aware of our joint responsibility for the fate of this country—ask for you undivided support. Thank you. (providing concluding sentence)